FBIS DAILY REPORT

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EAST-WEST COOPERATION CONFERENCE OPENS 11 MAY

Zhivkov Greetings

AU111707 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Varna, 11 May (BTA) -- Today the international symposium on the questions related to the industrial cooperation between partners of the East and the West was opened here, at the attendance of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council. Its participants are more than 100 representatives of business circles, official governmental figures and scientists of 26 countries, of which 8 are socialist ones.

At this forum two topics will be discussed. The first one is related to the questions of the East-West industrial cooperation and the joint ventures under the conditions of the constantly changing international relations. The other one is related to the question of the marketing and the realization on the markets of the East and the West of goods which have been produced under projects for industrial cooperation and by joint ventures. Discussion will go on finance and credit matters in two of the working groups.

Mr Dzhermen Gvishiani, chairman of the international council for new initiatives in the East-West cooperation, deputy-chairman of the State Science and Technology Committee of the Soviet Union, opened the symposium. Mr Todor Zhivkov delivered a greeting address.

Mr Todor Zhivkov gave a high appraisal to the symposium held here on the problems of industrial cooperation between partners from the East and the West. Today he spoke before the participants in the forum. The speaker stressed that the symposium was a remarkable event, because it is held under the conditions of a deteriorated international situation. Mr Todor Zhivkov said also that this meeting should give an impetus to commercial, economic, scientific and technological all-round cooperation between the East and the West. The participants in the symposium will look for ways and means to get out of the present atmosphere of tension between the countries of the East and the West, in order to give a push-ahead to world trade.

The Bulgarian head of state said that the pressure exerted by some Western circles with a view to destroying everything positive, everything achieved in the period of active detente, is a pressure to no avail. Mr Todor Zhivkov said he regarded optimistically the prospects of a cooperation between the East and the West. As he stressed, this optimism of his rests on objective historical laws, on objective laws for the internationalization of economic life.

Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized further that it is necessary to fight in order not to let the system of international relations built in the period after the sixties get destroyed. This struggle corresponds to the yearnings of millions of people all over the world.

The Bulgarian state leader dwelt on the economic development of the country in recent years. The rates of Bulgaria's economic development are some of the highest in the world. The national economy is developing dynamically even today, when the political and economic situation in the world is difficult. The living standard of the people is improved with every coming year. For several years now the foreign trade balance of Bulgaria has been active. "Bulgaria has no currency problems", added he. According to Mr Todor Zhivkov, the steady economic development results from the correct policy of all-round cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union.

The speaker noted in conclusion that the emulation between the countries of the East and of the West should be in the sphere of economy and trade, in the solving of social problems. The countries of the East and of the West should seek jointly a decision to the global issues and the key issue of the planet -- the preventing of a thermonuclear war.

Mr Todor Zhivkov suggested Varna as a traditional centre of the business meeting between the East and the West, in the interest of the world peace, in the interest of economic cooperation.

Zhivkov Holds Reception

AU111957 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, tonight gave a reception at the Grand Hotel Varna in the Druzhba sea resort for those participating in the symposium on issues related to industrial cooperation among East-West partners. Attending the reception, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, were Comrades Ognyan Doynov, Andrey Lukanov, state and economic figures, leaders of Varna Okrug; Academician Dzhermen Gvishiani, chairman of the international council for initiatives in the East-West cooperation and deputy chairman of the Committee for Science and Technology of the Soviet Union; Donald (Kendall), deputy chairman of the international council and president of the Pepsico company, leading figures of the international council, eminent representatives of the business world as well as (Janez Stanovnik), executive secretary of the UN Economic European Commission.

ARGENTINE COMMUNIST CONDEMNS U.S., U.K.

AU111701 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Sofia, 11 May (BTA) -- An Argentinian communist declared here today that Argentina's decision to join the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) to her territory is of enormous national and international importance.

Mr Mario Jose (Grabivquer), member of the CC of the Argentinian Communist Party, who spoke at an international journalistic symposium in Sofia, noted that this annexation is an anti-imperialist act, irrespective of the fact who is engaged in it. The Argentinian people, he went on to say further, support unanimously the annexation of the islands.

Mr Mario Jose (Grabivquer) also expressed his view on the reasons for the "criminal aggression of Britain and the United States against Argentina" According to him, the governments of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher want to turn the islands into a military base and "to lay their hands on the oil found there".

Mr (Grabivquer) maintains that Thatcher's Conservative government is trying to divert the attention of the British people from the grave economic problems of that country. He said that a mass movement in support of the Argentinian cause arises in the world.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT QUESTIONS SFRY CENSUS

AU110951 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 10 May 82 p 7

[Unattributed commentary: "Demographic Problems in Yugoslavia -- The 'Lost' Bulgarians"]

[Text] Census-taking is a necessity in the administration of any contemporary state in order to meet and settle rising social and economic problems. That is why the census results are of particular interest for statesmen, scholars and for the general public.

The census that was taken in our country in 1975, for example, which concentrated on the number of the population as well as on the housing facilities available in our country served the purpose of establishing the characteristic traits of family life, of housing and economic facilities and of their close relations with the economic opportunities in our country. This census fully reflected all these problems and, helped to further map out specific measures for the implementation of the party's December program on the improvement of the people's living standard.

The results of the census taken in 1981 in our neighbor country Yugoslavia were awaited with great interest as well. This census was expected to illustrate the demographic situation in the individual republics and autonomous regions and to reflect certain trends of development as regards individual peoples and nationalities. All these problems are obviously of particular interest and of vital importance for every federative state.

The results are already known. As usual, such results either confirm certain truths, or reveal some new problems. Among these problems there is also the question of the reduction in the number of citizens of Bulgarian nationality. While in 1971, according to statistical data, this number amounted to 58,627, now, according to the statistical and demographic experts in Yugoslavia who worked on the results of the last census, this number has been reduced to 36,547, or by 22,080 compared with 1971.

A country such as Yugoslavia, which on the basis of its Constitution and according to its entire official policy, always declares that it is trying not only to preserve but also to contribute to the well-balanced development of all nationalities, will certainly make every effort to clarify this question. It is true that the answer is not easy in any case. Regardless of any objective reasons that may be pointed out in this case, experts and scholars cannot easily be persuaded that in a country where the population as a whole has increased by 9 percent within 10 years it is normal that there can be such strong, natural trends to explain this great demographic-statistical discrepancy.

The question cannot help being a cause of concern for the Bulgarian public. Because of the existing historical circumstances the Bulgarian public considers the way of life and the successes of our compatriots in Yugoslavia as one of the factors of consolidating our friendship and cooperation with that country. That is why it is natural to ask ourselves: Where are those citizens who were registered as Bulgarian nationals only 10 years ago?

No chauvinistic motivations at all can be involved in this case. As a matter of fact, there is no question of an artificially created or invented nationality in this particular case. We are talking about a nationality which is acknowledged by law and by public opinion in Yugoslavia -- namely the Bulgarian one.

ALEKSANDROV-LED BCP DELEGATION LEAVES FOR CYPRUS

AU120817 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] On 12 May a BCP delegation led by Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee secretary, departed for Cyprus. The delegation will take part in the 15th Congress of the Restorative Party of the Working People.

BOZHINOV-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR POLAND

AU120818 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] On 12 May a Bulgarian state-economic delegation led by Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed for Warsaw. The delegation will take part in the session of the Bulgarian-Polish Commission on Economic Cooperation. Some new aspects of the Bulgarian-Polish cooperation will be reviewed at the session. The mutual economic relations during the past year will be examined and the trends and forms of their further developing during the current year and until the end of the five-year plan period will be marked.

RUDE PRAVO EXAMINES REAGAN REJECTION OF SALT

LD120926 Prague CTK in English 0905 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Prague, 12 May (CTK) -- RUDE PRAVO stressed today that by talking about an "imbalance of forces" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, President Reagan intentionally creates artificial problems which are to serve the current policy of the United States.

The present U.S. administration rejects the SALT-2 Treaty and the President comes with a new name for the talks -- START. He hypocritically maintains that the change of term, "reduction" instead of "limitation" of strategic nuclear weapons shows precisely the U.S. intentions. It is evident, however, that the new label will alter nothing in the old U.S. policy.

The essence of the SALT-2 Treaty is to consolidate the two countries' parity in strategic nuclear weapons. The quantitative limitations of the SALT-2 Treaty create basic prerequisites for the most destructive weapons to be balanced in essence although being different. President Reagan now asserts that the calculations are incorrect and unacceptable to the United States, and thus overtly expresses his distrust of the three previous presidents and many other political and military officials of the United States who had spent seven years seeking the optimum solution, RUDE PRAVO stressed.

CPCZ OFFICIALS MEET WITH USSR'S MARCHUK

LD112120 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Comrades Jozef Lenart and Peter Colotka, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, met in Bratislava today with Guriy Marchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology. The Soviet guest was accompanied by Milos Jakes, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and other representatives. Also present was Aleksandr Botvin, USSR ambassador in Czechoslovakia. During a cordial conversation Comrade Marchuk spoke about the problems of managing scientific-technological development in the USSR. At the end of the conversation, Comrade Lenart pointed to the great importance of using Soviet experience in the sphere of scientific-technical development for the further development of all the socialist countries.

The Soviet delegation, which is interested in our country's application of industrial robots and in scientific-technological developments in this sphere, today went to Presov to visit the metal-industry's research institute, which is supporting the utilization of industrial robots. The guests got acquainted with the standards of Czechoslovak robot technology and the results of the cooperation between Soviet and Czechoslovak scientists and technicians. The results of their cooperation can be seen in the development of three kinds of robots.

The visit is taking place in accordance with the preparation of an intergovernmental agreement for multilateral cooperation within CEMA in the sphere of robotics.

HUSAK, STROUGAL GREET SOVIET LEADERS 8 MAY

AU101732 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 May 82 pp 1,2

[Text] Prague, 7 May (CTK) -- Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, sent Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR's Council of MInisters, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory over fascism and of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the glorious Soviet army.

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the Soviet Union's historic victory over Hitlerite Germany in the Great Patriotic War and of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the glorious Soviet army, we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR's Council of Ministers and the fraternal Soviet people ardent comradely greetings and most cordial congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, the Czechoslovak people and in our own name.

On the day of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War, which is also the day on which the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle victoriously culminated, we recall with sincere gratitude the decisive merits of the glorious Soviet army in the defeat of Hitlerite fascism. We bow with deep respect to the immortal memory of 20 million of the best sons and daughters of the Soviet people who fell in the battle against fascism. More than 140,000 of them laid down their lives in liberating our fatherland.

The day 9 May 1945 was the day we recaptured our national freedom and state independence; a day which opened wide for the working people of our fatherland the path toward building a new, socially just, socialist society. During the historically brief period since the glorious May days of 1945, the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of their communist parties, have achieved significant successes in the development of all spheres of life in their countries. The fulfillment of conclusions passed by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress will become a new, important phase in the struggle for a happy, increasingly richer life of the Soviet and Czechoslovak people.

Of invaluable significance for building the socialist society in our country are the constantly deepening ties of friendship, alliance and all-round Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation. Their core lies in the fraternal relations between the CPSU and CPCZ, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, which are also at the base of the class union of our nations in the common struggle for socialism, for peace and progress in the world. In the spirit of the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, signed in 1970, we will continue to consolidate and develop these relations. By actively participating in the activities of the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA, we will be contributing toward the all-round development of cooperation and the consolidation of the unity of states of the socialist community.

Our people fully support the Soviet Union's peace policy and the enterprising proposals submitted from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress, and further developed in Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's statements. At the side of the Soviet Union, in unity with the other fraternal countries of the socialist community, we will be sharing in the realization of a joint peaceful foreign-political line and contributing toward consolidating the world peace, security and cooperation among the peoples.

On this significant day in the life of the peoples of both our countries, we wish the fraternal Soviet people -- who this year will be recalling, together with the progressive people thoughout the world, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR -- significant new successes in realizing the program of the 26th CPSU Congress in the fight for peace throughout the world.

May the great Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party strengthen and flourish!

Long live the firm and unbreakable friendship of the nations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia!

-- Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR Federal Assembly chairman, sent Aleksey Shitikov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR's Supreme Soviet, and Vitaliy Ruben, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a congratulatory telegram on the 37th anniversary of the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet army.

-- On the same occasion Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, congratulated Andrey Gromyko, USSR's minister of foreign affairs.

CPCZ's BILAK HEADS DELEGATION TO AFRICA, PDRY

LD111152 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] A CPCZ Central Committee delegation, led by Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak has left for an official working visit to Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and the PDRY.

The tour is taking place at the invitation of leaders of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, the United National Independence Party [of Zambia], the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] -- Labor Party and the Yemeni Socialist Party.

Arrives in Mozambique

LD112112 Prague CTK in English 1906 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Maputo, 11 May (CTK) -- A delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, led by Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, arrived here today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo).

The delegation was welcomed by Joaquim Alberto Chissano, member of the Permanent Political Committee and secretary of the Frelimo Central Committee, and other political (?representatives).

Joaquim Alberto Chissano gave an official dinner in honor of the visiting Czechoslovak delegation.

Mozambican mass communication media devoted great attention to the visit of the Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation. The daily NOTICIAS stressed that visit will contribute to the strengthening and expansion of bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation.

CPCZ DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR CYPRUS CONGRESS

LD112052 Prague CTK in English 1902 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Prague 11 May (CTK) -- A delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by Central Committee Presidium member Jozef Lenart, left here for Cyprus today to attend the 15th Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) in Nicosia.

CPCZ's KEMPNY RECEIVES ANGOLAN DELEGATION

LD111504 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] The delegation of the People's Assembly of the Angolan People's Republic led by Manuel Bernardo de Sousa, member of the MPLA-Labor Party and first secretary of the People's Assembly, was received today in Prague by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council. He informed the Angolan representatives about the principles of the Federative Organization of Czechoslovakia and about the position and role of the Czech National Council as the highest representative body of the Czech Socialist Republic.

Manuel Bernardo de Sousa noted that the Angolan People's Republic wishes to further strengthen cooperation with socialist countries in the future, and expressed the conviction that his present visit in Czechoslovakia could stimulate that end.

Comrade Josef Kempny hosted a gala luncheon in honor of the delegation of the People's Assembly of the Angolan People's Republic.

STROUGAL, KORCAK VISIT OSTRAVA, TALK TO WORKERS

LD112112 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal flew over to Ostrava today for a short working visit. He was accompanied by Czech Premier Josef Korcak and other government representatives. Our North Morovian correspondent, Frantisek (TVRZ) reports:

[TVRZ] The delegation led by Comrade Strougal met in the afternoon with the workers of the new Klement Gottwald Foundry in Kuncice. The federal premier was interested not only in the fulfillment of the tasks of the development of our coke-producing industry but also in the utilization of the new departments which produce steel for the construction industry and for machinery production. The coke-producing workers described in impromptu discussions at their places of work their intentions, results and resolutions expressed in new pledges.

At the end of his working visit Comrade Strougal thanked them for the kind reception at a rally in the big hall of the new medium section mill in which some hundreds of workers from the morning and afternoon shifts took part. He also thanked them for the new socialist pledges of the new Klement Gottwald Foundry. He said, among other things:

[Begin recording] The medium section mill is our future. We would be most happy if it fulfilled the qualitative and quantitative parameters as soon as possible. We are, however, aware of the complexity of such up-to-date technical equipment of high capacity. We all must do our best, not only you, the workers of the new foundry, but also the suppliers from Zdar, from the Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek national enterprise and the other suppliers, to tune the mill and master this new technology so that we can achieve the results which the medium section mill can and is to produce for our metallurgy, machinery producing industry and our national economy.

We are glad to have seen this up-to-date equipment and we wish you many successes in this direction, and we would like also to thank you for the pledges which we have received.

(?Before we came here) comrades took us around the Ostrava-Karvina area, and the comrades showed us also the dark sides of life in the Ostrava-Karvina area, caused in particular by the negative effect of mining work on the life of people, of towns, villages and individuals.

Of course we ought to deal with the problems together, and that was the main object of our visit and of our negotiations with the representatives of the North Moravian Region led by Comrade Mamula, leading secretary of the Regional Party Committee, with the aim of defining more exactly some targets for these 5 years until 1975 for the region and also for some basic industrial spheres of the North Moravian region which play a key part in our national economy. [applause] [end recording]

MILOS JAKES CHAIRS ECONOMIC COMMISSION SESSION

LD101450 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] A session of the CPCZ Central Committee National Economic Commission chaired by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee, has been held in Prague. The commission assessed the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th party congress in respect to the main tasks of the social and economic development of Czechoslovakia for the period 1981-85. The law on the Seventh 5-Year Plan, and draft guidelines for working out the state plan for the development of the national economy for the year 1983.

SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION SESSION HELD IN PRAGUE

LD112046 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Prague, 11 May (CTK) -- The Socialist Union of Youth consistently supports the targets set by the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party for the foreign political sphere: effort for the co-existence of states with different social systems, security in the world, durable peace and disarmament.

This support was in evidence at Tuesday's plenary session of the union's Central Committee in Prague which assessed the international activity of the organization since its 1977 congress. The evaluation comes before next October's third congress of the union, associating 1.7 million young people.

The balance-sheet showed that the inspiring factor in the development of international activity has been in the past five years the promotion of relations and cooperation with the 40-million Soviet Komsomol. Their most important joint action was the Friendship Festival of Czechoslovak and Soviet Youth, which took place in all Czechoslovak regions in 1979. Also taking place in Czechoslovakia were Days of Friendship with the youth of Romania (1977), the German Democratic Republic (1978), Poland (1978), Bulgaria (1978), and Cuba (1980), and the second meeting of students from the socialist countries in Prague in 1978. Cooperation and solidarity have been deepened with the youth of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and relations with the youth of Yugoslavia are being expanded.

An important contribution to international cooperation is the Festival of Political Songs, which took place for the tenth time at Sokolov in North Bohemia this year.

The Socialist Union of Youth has been attaching ever bigger significance to cooperation with youth organizations whose members come for long stays in Czechoslovakia to work or gain training: The Union of Young Communists of Cuba, the Ho Chi Minh Union of Communist Youth, the Mongolian Revolutionary Union of Youth, and the Laotian People's Revolutionary Union of Youth. The principles of proletarian internationalism have been guiding the broad development of cooperation with progressive youth organizations in the FRG, Denmark, Finland, Austria, Greece,Cyprus, Luxembourg, the U.S., Canada and Australia.

The Socialist Union of Youth has been confirmed in the two most representative progressive and democratic international organizations: The World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. The active role of the Socialist Union of Youth in the World Federation of Democratic Youth was appreciated when it was asked to host the 11th assembly of organizations of the federation. Some 800 delegates from more than 130 countries and almost 200 representatives of non-member organizations of [word indistinct] and students with a broad range of ideological orientation will be attending the event in Prague on June 3-9.

U.S. ACCUSED OF STALLING MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

AU112026 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 May 82 p 4

[Thomas Leinkauf commentary: "Torpedo Against Negotiations"]

[Text] On 13 May the 27th round of the negotiations on a reduction of troops and armaments in central Europe will start in the Vienna Hofburg. The draft of the socialist states for an agreement has been on the table since February. It provides that in a first phase 20,000 military men of the USSR and 13,000 of the United States will be withdrawn from the center of our continent. The other direct participants of the negotiations would thus undertake the commitment to freeze the strength of their troops at the same time.

As early as autumn 1979 the Soviet Union had unilaterally withdrawn -- as is known -- 20,000 soldiers and 1,000 tanks from the GDR. With this advance concession it proved its desire for a drastic decrease of the conventional armed forces in central Europe.

So far there has been no positive response from the NATO countries neither to the advance concession of the USSR nor to the reduction proposal of the socialist states. On the contrary they tried to artifically prolong the negotiations and prevent concrete agreements by their delaying tactics and an endless toying with figures. Now Washington has launched another torpedo. According to reports in the FRG press, the Pentagon plans to station 58,000 additional military members in Europe by next year. About 21,000 are planned to operate the new U.S. medium-range missiles -- cruise missiles and Pershing II as well as the AWACS espionage planes deployed in the FRG.

The implementation of these plans would be another difficult burden for the negotiations process in Vienna. But above all it would further aggravate the situation on our continent, which has been dangerously aggravated by the intensified NATO armament policy.

ENVOY PREVIEWS CURRENT MBFR SESSION IN VIENNA

LD112352 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2010 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] In Vienna this week the 27th round of talks on the mutual reduction of troops and arms in Europe will open. Seventeen European states plus the United States and Canada are taking part in them. Before the start of the new session Guenther Meisler spoke with Ambassador Andre Wieland, head of the GDR delegation:

[Begin recording] [Question] Progress in Vienna, Ambassador, would be one possibility of reducing the dangerous military confrontation in central Europe. A new initiative of the socialist countries in this respect was a significant feature of the 26th round of negotiations which ended shortly before Easter. Now the 27th round is beginning: What will determine the future behavior of the socialist countries?

[Answer] Comrade Meisler, you yourself have referred to the proposal submitted on 18 February by the socialist states. As is known, this involves the complete draft of an agreement on the first stage of a mutual troop reduction in central Europe. Let me briefly recall some motives for this step by the socialist countries.

For one thing, this was meant to stress that they still consider necessary the persistent struggle even after years of the Vienna negotiations, and particularly because specific disarmament agreements above all in Europe are more urgent than ever today. Comrade Honecker reduced it to the simplest denominator when only a few days ago he said that today the struggle for peace is to a decisive extent a struggle for an end to the arms race and for disarmament. For this reason the socialist countries repeatedly take the initiative.

The specific motive for doing this in the form of a complete draft agreement resulted from the situation at the negotiating table in Vienna, when [words indistinct] positions, the introduction of proposals on individual questions for the finding of compromise solutions, but also to establish some clarity on issues not soluble at the moment, for which almost 9 years of negotiations have truly given enough space and time.

Progress in the negotiations can now only mean moving on to work on the text of an agreement. That is, after all, the real task for which governments should send their representatives to negotiations. The task of the GDR delegation for the forthcoming round is, in any case: to work jointly with the representatives of the other Warsaw Treaty states toward specific results on the basis of their proposal.

[Question] Maybe, Comrade Ambassador, we could once more speak about the 18 February draft agreement. What is the essential point about it?

[Answer] The essential point is that in a preamble and 26 articles this draft sums up what is necessary and really achievable in an initial agreement. It retained everything in which the sides signaled rapprochement and excluded still disputed questions in the interests of speedy progress. Thus it is based on the agreement to move forward in two stages: In the first stage only land-based forces of the United States and the USSR would be withdrawn from central Europe. Some 20,000 on one side and 30,000 on the other would be a reasonable start in the present conditions. After 2 stages the troops of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO should be reduced to 900,000 each. In the meantime the other participants would have merely to freeze the numbers of their troops.

For the verification of the observance of these and other stipulations of the agreement a whole package of measures is planned: for example, the establishment of temporary observation points, through which the troop withdrawals would take place; advance notification of troop movements; or the establishment of a consultation mechanism.

[Question] In other words, the most recent proposal of the socialist countries contains a whole number of positions, in which in the past there has been agreement in principle or at least great proximity of views. Despite this there has been no positive reaction from the West; there can surely be no reasonable grounds for this?

[Answer] Of course not, for in their proposal the socialist states demand nothing from the opposite side that they are not prepared to give themselves. There is in the agreement no item which could give them an advantage at the expense of the other side. To put it briefly, then, the articles keep strictly to the basic principles of equality, mutuality, and above all of undiminished security.

If in the coming round also the Western participants nevertheless (?delay) a constructive reaction, then despite all the claims and diversionary tactics at the negotiating table this will be a new indication that leading NATO circles continue to have a basically negative attitude toward a reduction of military potential.

In this connection it is, for example, very characteristic that two states at the Vienna negotiations -- the United States and the FRG -- right now have signed an agreement which contains [words indistinct]. This makes the provision for making central Europe a reduction area in the future, to which these states have also agreed, nothing other than a mere form of words. The visible striving for military superiority remains the real reason why the NATO states avoid giving constructive answers to socialist proposals.

[Question] One more question, Comrade Ambassador: Western propaganda is always referring to the issue of troop numbers [words indistinct].

[Answer] First of all, we must make [word indistinct] that behind the concept of the statistics discussion lies the unproductive debate in which the West for years now has been repeating its claim of an alleged Eastern imbalance in the number of troops. The aim of this claim is clear: It is a pretext for demanding unilateral, that is unbalanced, disarmament steps by the socialist countries. In this way they go so far that the extent of the alleged superiority was insisted upon even when the USSR unilaterally removed 20,000 men from the GDR and the United States introduced more than 30,000 into the reduction zone. The real situation is that in central Europe there is an approximate military balance. [Words indistinct] 991,000 men on the NATO side and 979,000 on the Warsaw Treaty forces aide are confirmed. This cannot be changed even by the fairy tales which NATO strategists have recently circulated again at their spring session.

In connection with the statistics discussion here is a curious side-light: Western media report that the NATO states cannot reach a common assessment of the numbers of their own forces and are in dispute to the tune of approximately 14,000 men.

Now back to the discussions. Since the Western side is not prepared to accept the often revised official information given by the Warsaw Treaty states, in the new draft agreement these governments have indicated a way which would make further discussion of statistics superfluous at least for the initial agreement. For this must genuinely interest the participants; first of all, that the planned Soviet and American troop withdrawals really take place, and second [words indistinct] increases occur in the reduction zone. The effective control of this process is secured by the provisions of the draft agreement.

I believe this is a vivid example of how the socialist states seek solutions for problems, no matter how difficult they may appear to be. We will continue to work in this spirit for there is no rational alternative to this. [end recording]

COMMENTATOR ON U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT DEVELOPMENT

DW071203 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 6 May 82

[Christa Weiss commentary of the day]

[Text] Good evening, my listeners. What are the reasons for the strong increase in the peace movement in the United States? How can it be explained, for example, that some 18 months ago the campaign for freezing nuclear arms there was termed an obscure organization which only a few people were giving a chance, while now realistically-thinking people do not at all deny it the quality of being a serious political force? How can it be explained that 200 senators and congressmen in the meantime are supporting Senator Kennedy's nuclear arms moratorium and that a protest movement is taking shape in the form of meetings and community assemblies, plebiscites and petition campaigns against the arms drive policy. This involves workers as well as people who obviously belong to the establishment, progressive and conservative Christians as well as real liberals or versed experts who a short time ago had to make decisions in the Cabinet or other positions?

This would involve McNamara, who urged together with other politicians that the U.S. Government and NATO bodies abandon the nuclear first strike strategy, and Muskie, Vance, Rusk or Lodge, former secretaries of state who now publicly demand discontinuation or limitation of the arms race.

Why that? And why did even former President Carter dissociate himself yesterday in an Oslo press conference from recent statements of the current U.S. administration, stating in contrast that there exists a military balance between the Soviet Union and the United States?

The motives are certainly different. One of them is certainly the realization that a continuing arms drive would deteriorate even more the living standard of Americans which is poor anyway, forcing them, so to speak, into a mass movement which careful politicians want to block. Another aspect is certainly what former Senator Fulbright meant by saying: The talk of the government about a Soviet threat is so extreme that he, Fulbright, has the feeling that America is preparing for a nuclear war it wants to win.

Dear listeners, one can add to this aspect that the realization is gaining more and more ground in the United States that a nuclear catastrophe will absolutely not be limited to the selected first strike area, namely Europe; Rather, it will much involve the United States in a fatal way, threatening every American directly, regardless of whether he is a communist or an anticommunist.

Nuclear armament, and I am quoting Senator Kennedy now, involves the nation from California to New England where the citizens have voted for a production stop in the East and the West. In doing this they are far ahead of our government. The administration has a policy of strength but not a policy of peace. End of quotation, of a quotation, by the way, which characterizes the mood of the U.S. peace movement which is gaining strength. It finds an echo in Western Europe, an echo which is not at all being ignored by many Western media, an echo by the peace forces there which were labeled not long ago with the stamp Moscow-triggered or anti-American.

It is possible that Professor (Lawn) will have to defend himself against such accusations. As one of the chairman of the organization "Physicians of the World for Preventing Nuclear War," he pointed out at a Boston press conference that Leonid Brezhnev has reacted positively to the disarmament appeal, while the White House press secretary only remarked that the White House does not answer every letter. No comment. Brezhnev's answer to the medical experts is so obvious as the Soviet policy and the peace policy of socialist countries in general. He recalled that the Soviet Union has suggested several times creating nuclear-free zones and that nuclear-tactical and medium-range [words indistinct]. That would really be zero option and not the false variant which is still being discussed in the West.

It must be added that the Soviet Union is prepared to make most radical agreements with other countries to safeguard peace. Out of tradition and reason this is at the same time a policy of strength and peace. Good evening.

LEADERS GREET SOVIET COUNTERPARTS ON VICTORY DAY

AU112116 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 May 82 pp 1,2

["Cordial Greetings to Soviet People on Victory Day: GDR Declares Its Full Support for the Proved Peace Course of the USSR and Wishes Great New Successes"]

[Text] To Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet;
Comrade Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers
Moscow

Dear comrades,

On the 37th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union in the great fatherland war and of the liberation of the German people from fascism we convey to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers and to the entire Soviet people the most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee, State Council, Council of Ministers and GDR people.

By crushing the fascist aggressor, the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin's glorious party have accomplished a world historic liberation feat which lead to a fundamental change in peoples' lives. The boundless heroism and immense sacrifices of the Soviet people in the struggle against fascist barbarism will remain unforgotten forever.

The victory over Hitler fascism also enabled our people to embark upon the road of peace and social progress. Today a stable socialist state exists in the GDR on German soil which is forever fraternally linked with the Soviet Union and which actively and constructively works for the preservation of peace and for the strengthening of socialism.

The communists and all working people of our republic congratulate from the bottom of their hearts the CPSU and the Soviet people on the impressive labor feats which they are accomplishing in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, in honor of the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. By successfully implementing the tasks of communist construction, the Soviet Union implements its historic mission as a pioneer of human progress and gives a brilliant example of the triumphant nature of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

At a time when as a result of the adventurous confrontation and arms buildup policy of the most aggressive circles of imperialism international tensions are growing to a dangerous degree and the danger of war is increasing, the Soviet Union is once again proving to be the most powerful and influential force for peace. It makes a decisive contribution to the prevention of nuclear war and to the strengthening of international security. Its constructive initiatives are conveying strong incentives to the peoples' struggle for securing world peace and for curbing the arms race.

The GDR declares its full support for the Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Union. In keeping with the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, it will also in the future actively contribute to the strengthening of the socialist community and to the consolidation of peace.

It fills us with great pleasure that the relations inspired by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, between our parties, states and peoples are comprehensively deepening and developing. The continuous strengthening of the fraternal alliance with Lenin's party and country is and remains an irreversible principle of our policy.

We wish you, dear comrades and friends, the communists and all citizens of the Soviet country great new successes in communist construction and in securing peace.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;
Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

FISCHER MEETS WITH ZAMBIAN OFFICIALS 11 MAY

Received by President

LD112210 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1925 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Lusaka, 11 May (ADN) -- Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia and of the United National Independence Party, Tuesday received GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. The guest delivered the cordial greetings of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR STate Council, which the Zambian president reciprocated just as cordially.

President Kaunda recalled Erich Honecker's visit to Zambia in 1979 and his own stay in the GDR 1 year later. During these visits he got to know and value Erich Honecker for his principled attitude on the side of the forces of peace and of national and social liberation and as an international partner.

In their talks the Zambian president and Oskar Fischer reached fundamental accord on international issues. They stressed that Zambia and the GDR are not building their societies for a nuclear war to destroy the people's achievements.

The GDR and Zambia are at one in the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism, just as they are against oppression and exploitation, Kenneth Kaunda said. He stressed the usefulness of political dialogue for the development of trust and understanding among peoples.

In the talk, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, both politicians paid tribute to the excellent state of relations between their states and peoples. Kenneth Kaunda assessed Oskar Fischer's visit as a demonstration of the GDR's wish to develop cooperation with his country at all levels. Minister Fischer expressed the GDR's determination to develop further these relations and stressed that it has found in Lusaka partners who are prepared to join in the struggle for peace and disarmament and for the legitimate right of the peoples to national and social liberation.

Meets Foreign Minister

LD112116 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Lusaka, 11 May (ADN) -- During a reception given by Zambian Foreign Minister Lameck Goma in honor of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer both ministers spoke in favor of strengthening bilateral relations. Both politicians affirmed their intention to implement the measures agreed between the two countries with the greatest possible effectiveness.

In a toast Oskar Fischer pointed out that meetings between official representatives of states have special importance during these days of dangerous crises. "The policy of arms buildup and confrontation, which is being pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, has today created dangers to world peace which have not existed since W.W. II."

Foreign Minister Fischer said that the world is once again threatened by the danger of war. "We must throw all our forces into the balance, we must unite in order to dispel this danger."

Oskar Fischer spoke in favor of a speedy settlement of the Namibia problem on the basis of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council. He underlined the unqualified solidarity of the GDR with the struggle of the Namibian people and of its legitimate representative, the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO].

Zambian Foreign Minister Lameck Goma said in a toast that the Namibian problem is the problem of colonialism and of illegal occupation by South Africa. "Freedom and real independence in Namibia may no longer be the victim of a strategy of delay," Goma said. Zambia will support SWAPO with all its might in the future as well.

Minister Goma spoke emphatically in favor of general and complete disarmament, primarily in the nuclear sphere. The nuclear weapons threat is the greatest danger for mankind. Zambia thinks highly of the GDR's support for the preservation of world peace. At the same time Minister Goma expressed his satisfaction at the level of bilateral cooperation and the many contacts with the GDR.

HAGER ON DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST SCHOOL SYSTEM

DW112016 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1316 GMT 11 May 82

[Excerpt from speech delivered by Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee on 11 May 1982 at the conference of school directors in Karl Marx Stadt -- recorded]

[Text] With this central directors conference, convened by the Ministry of National Education, another step toward implementing our school policy is taken. We also can note with regard to school-political developments in our republic that our road has proved to be correct. From the antifascist democratic school reform to the ten-class all-round educational polytechnical high school a continuous development of the national education system has taken place. From the law on the democratization of the German school to the law on the unified socialist educational system, from the SED's school conferences to the Eighth Pedagogical Congress of the GDR, from the eighth party congress to the 10th party congress and the consultation of the SED Secretariat with the first secretaries of the kreise in February this year, we always considered school policy part of our party's overall policy, an important contribution to the implementation of socialist revolution in the GDR.

As a result of this development today we avail ourselves of an important educational potential for implementing our sociopolitical objectives. We can take pride in the fact that of the 8.7 million working people of our country already 4.5 million have graduated from the ten-class all-round polytechnical high school. You, dear comrades, have a great share in this development. The SED Central Committee highly appreciates your work and I am pleased with having been assigned to convey to you, the other school functionaries and at the same time to all educationalists of our republic, the most cordial greetings of the Central Committee and its general secretary, our Comrade Erich Honecker. [applause]

These greetings are combined with the gratitude for and the recognition of the sacrificing work of all school directors, teachers and educationalists, all those who contribute to educating our youth to become really cultivated people who are profoundly convinced of the cause of socialism and act accordingly.

Our school is closely linked with all other spheres of the evolved socialist society. There exists an indivisible link between education, awareness, knowledge and ability on the part of the working people and the solution of the major urgent tasks in the national economy, in science, technology and culture, in the military field and in all other spheres. School mirrors in manifold ways all questions and problems of political, economic and spiritual-cultural life of our time. In the educational process the socialist school -- and this constitutes its high degree of responsibility -- must give answers to the young people on the questions posed by life and which are substantial for life.

Comrade Margot Honecker has explained here convincingly and inspiringly the ways a school can better live up to this high degree of social responsibility, what is required by the state leaderships of schools and school directors, how the school-policy decisions of the 10th party congress are to be implemented and how the pedagogical process is to be organized even more effectively at all schools.

More on Hager Speech

LD111502 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] The indivisible link between education, awareness, knowledge and ability on the part of the working people and the solution of the major tasks in all spheres was stressed by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Speaking at the conference of schools directors in Karl Marx Stadt today, he emphasized that in school today all issues of political, economic and intellectual-cultural life in our time are reflected in many ways. This has resulted in a high degree of social responsibility on the part of teachers. To be prepared to give one's best for the flourishing of the socialist fatherland and to protect socialism under any conditions -- this is the meaning of educating class-conscious citizens. The speaker dwelt at length on the policy of confrontation and stepped-up arming of the most aggressive NATO circles and the resulting threats to world peace. The realistic proposals by the socialist community, on the other hand, like the worldwide peace movement, are being seen increasingly as a convincing alternative. Teacher (Susanne Wischunelski) from [name indistinct] in her contribution dealt with the growing political-ideological requirements in teaching civics. It is important in this respect to impart more than just teaching material.

Teacher (Willy Hoehne), director of a secondary school in Bergen, said that the readiness of every third boy in his school to become a career officer is a result of high political and moral quality in the school-leaving grade.

KESSLER ADDRESSES LEIPZIG MILITARY EVENT

LD112126 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1625 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Leipzig, 11 May (ADN) -- The accelerated increase in U.S. and NATO strategic aggressive potential is a dangerous but ineffective attempt to destroy the military balance of power and to gain military superiority over socialism. Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy defense minister and head of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army [NVA] of the GDR, said this today at a military-political event in Leipzig.

Col Gen Heinz Kessler pointed to the peace-preserving mission of the socialist forces allied to the Soviet army, which are proving themselves as a significant factor in the curbing of aggressive imperialist forces. Faithful to the class task conferred on it by the 10th SED Congress, the NVA is protecting socialist order and the peaceful life of the citizens of the GDR and of all states of the socialist community at the side of the fraternal armies.

CHURCH AFFAIRS OFFICIAL MEETS FRG CHURCHMEN

AU112103 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 May 82 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Friday Klaus Gysi, state-secretary for church affairs, met for a talk with the members of the Presidium of the Evangelical Church Day in the FRG Erhard Eppler, also acting president, and Helmut Simon. Also participating was Consistorial President Manfred Stople, member of the Presidium of the Evangelical Church Day in the GDR. The open and frank talk concentrated on the work of the church days in the GDR and in the FRG as well as on the joint responsibility of Christians and churches for peace and worldwide disarmament in view of the growing threat of nuclear armament. State Secretary Gysi praised the importance of the ecumenical peace work which is committed to these aims.

BRIEFS

CULTIVATION REPORT -- By Monday the cooperative peasants had planted potatoes on 432,116 hectares, that is 91.7 percent of the planned area. They planted outdoor vegetables on 39,479 hectares, that is 63.9 percent of the planned cultivation. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 May 82 p 1 AU]

POLITBURO MEETS 11 MAY, CONDEMNS STREET EXCESSES

LD111846 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] A session of the PZPR Central Committee's Politburo has ended. We received a communique from the session a moment ago; here is what it says:

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee has acquainted itself with an assessment of the country's political situation. It was determined that the street excesses provoked at the beginning of May by centers hostile to socialist Poland were aimed against the vital interests of our community, against the progress of stabilization and against social calm. It was stressed that these events occurred at a time when successive attempts had been made to normalize life, when the first results of overcoming market anarchy are appearing and when reform is being implemented; the many members of the community who participated in the 1 May celebrations are a manifestation of the progress on the path of national accord.

In light of the present situation, the Politburo instructs all party cadres and organizations to actively implement tasks stemming from the resolutions of the Central Committee's seventh and eighth plenums. The Politburo expressed its support for the government's assessments and activities in the situation that has arisen.

The Politburo, with the participation of chairmen of youth organizations, discussed the preparations for the ninth Central Committee plenum, which will be devoted to the problems of young people.

The Politburo approved the programmatic assumptions of strengthening and developing relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. It was stated that these relations are of fundamental significance for improving the economic situation, for rebuilding Poland's stand on the international arena, and for maintaining the safety and inviolability of our frontiers. The need to broaden and create new forms of political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation as well as cooperation in other fields was reaffirmed.

MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON EXPULSION OF U.S. DIPLOMATS

LD120908 Warsaw PAP in English 0805 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May (PAP) -- On May 11 the Polish society was informed about the arrest by operatives of the security services of a scientific worker from the Basic Problems of Technology Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Dr Ryszard Herczynski as he was handing over materials hitting out at the interests of the Polish People's Republic to two American diplomats. In connection with the pursuit by those diplomats of activities incompatible with their diplomatic status the Polish Foreign Ministry demanded that they leave the territory of this country. A counterintelligence official of the Polish Interior Ministry, Col Zbigniew Wislocki gave PAP this account of the course of the events and circumstances which have become the basis for the application by the chief military prosecutor, which opened summary investigation in Herczynski's case, of temporary arrest against him.

"It is an irrefutable fact confirmed many a time that for some two years now American intelligence services have been much more active in Poland. This should not be understood exclusively as activities of such agents as, for example, Bogdan Walewski, already unmasked by the Polish counterintelligence and sentenced for his criminal activity, that is agents using secret means of communication and the like accessories of a spy. A very important part of the activity of the U.S. intelligence is formed of "agents of influence", never trained in the espionage craft, the contacts, meetings and conversations with whom have a legal character and they can bear all the marks of such legality.

Especially since the second half of last year strings of American scientists, economists and trade union specialists have been coming to Poland eager to establish contacts with universities, research institutes, etc. Poland has and continues to favour the development of scientific cooperation with the West. She has been interested in the development of such cooperation. But it is hard not to notice that for many persons giving such motives for their visits this has been a mere pretext.

This of course is not to say that all of them were intelligence agents. It is far more convenient to send persons who are involved in different degrees in intelligence agency, people inspired by the agency or linked with it through universities or various research centres dealing with Eastern Europe. Those persons, after arrival in Poland, demonstrated totally different interests and their contacts were in the first place with activists on Solidarnosc payroll. Lectures given to large audiences included those on the activity of trade unions in the West. Talks essential from the point of view of the purpose of these trips were held within an inner circle. Contacts were also developed with people known not so much for their opposition views as for concrete anti-state activity.

As far as diplomats are concerned, it is their business to meet representatives of the journalistic milieu, scientists, men of letters, artists and cultural workers. This is their official form of work and no one in Poland has any intention to curb their right to carry out normal diplomatic activity of this kind. In conversations with people the diplomat has the right to ask what they think of this or that matter. But there are limits to where so conceived, normal work of the diplomat ends and interference in the internal affairs of the host country begins, such as establishing and facilitating cooperation between domestic and foreign opposition and, last but not least, the "grey" forms of espionage.

Unfortunately, issues discussed here are quite concrete. If a diplomat meets, several times a month, people carrying out opposition activity for years, if those meetings are held in secret, if during those meetings concrete materials are being handed over to be sent abroad through a "safe channel" to concrete people known for their anti-Polish activities in that area, such "talks" cannot be treated as normal diplomatic activity. The more so that if during similar meetings tens of concrete questions are being asked and not at all private assessments and suggestions are being conveyed with the awareness that they will be conveyed to opposition activists and groups within the country, then this is unequivocal.

Guided by the reason of state the Polish authorities will not permit the possibility of carrying out normal diplomatic activity to be abused for establishing connecting service between people known for their concrete anti-state actions -- not attitudes -- in Poland and directing centres in the West. What one has in mind is both concrete directing centres in the U.S. and those Solidarnosc activists who are doing harm to Poland abroad.

What sort of materials were conveyed? The publications of counter-revolutionary groups operating at present in Poland, including even those publications which have not been circulated in Poland yet, assessments of the present situation in Poland -- to meet the needs of opposition activists abroad, and finally materials concerning the principles of sabotaging martial law by research workers. As TV cameras showed those materials revealed for example which journalists could and which ones could not be informed about the state of knowledge in a given branch of science. The documents were in Polish, but also -- when designed for definite people in the U.S. -- in English. Details will be established during investigation.

It is surprising for a journalist that the photographs taken in the apartment of R. Herczynski (which also captured the moment when John V. Zerolis, the science attache of U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, was confirming with his own signature the fact of having possessed the requisitioned materials on account of suspicion that they might have direct connection to the criminal activity by the owner of the apartment) show the persons present there with relaxed expressions on their faces and even smiling, although the situation seemed not fit for this. How was it possible?

This is done in a truly elegant manner, the officer of the Polish counterintelligence answers. According to information obtained by a PAP journalist Dr Herczynski was interned on December 13, 1981. He was released less than two days later following a request lodged by himself and his colleagues quoting his poor health and the requirements of proceeding with scholarly research. He made a pledge not to embark upon any activity aimed against martial law.

The communique published on 11 May mentions also Professor Wladyslaw Fiszdon, former deputy rector of the Warsaw University, who was present at Herczynski's apartment when the security service operatives arrived there. The purpose of Fiszdon's presence is not known. He had not been interned and was not detained by Interior Ministry organs.

Are there many people who carry out similar activity, incompatible with the interests of the country, featuring Western "diplomats" in at least ambiguous roles? Their number is ever smaller since the introduction of martial law.

AFP NOTES MILITIA SHOW OF FORCE (WARSAW STREETS

NC111759 Paris AFP in English 1747 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May (AFP) -- Motorised milita units paraded through Warsaw streets today in an impressive show of force only two days before a 15-minute strike called by the suspended Solidarity trade union.

Some 300 vehicles of the ZOMO, motorised militia brigades, paraded through central streets and outlying boulevards today with helmet-clad militiamen in full combat gear wielding plastic shields posted aboard the trucks, jeeps, light tanks and armoured cars travelling with headlights full on and warning lights flashing.

City residents massed in silence along roadsides to watch the convoy pass by under light rain, while traffic piled up at street-corners waiting for the roads to be freed. The parade took place only two days before a 15-minute strike call by Solidarity.

In a Sunday broadcast, the underground Solidarity radio called for a 15-minute strike for Thursday to mark the five month anniversary of the December 13 martial law takeover. The radio also called on all Poles travelling on foot or in vehicles to stop still for one minute at midday on Thursday.

RZECZPOSPOLITA DEFENDS NECESSITY OF MARTIAL LAW

LD120918 Warsaw PAP in English 0846 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 12 May (PAP) -- "The introduction of martial law was an ultimate must. It was very difficult and painful decision," said the Polish daily RZECZPOSPOLITA today.

"Martial law has introduced a number of acute restrictions, suspended the activity of many democratic institutions, curtailed the range of civic freedoms. Yet -- and today it is clear -- it was the choice of the least evil.

"In this way the state was saved from disintegration, from the most terrible thing -- civil war, a bloodshed and incalculable victims.

"Five months have passed since that day. Those have been the months of progressing stabilization restoring order, implementing reform. The symptoms of economic improvement have appreared. In pace with those advancements, martial law has been steadily eased. Many regulations, particularly those most painful for the society, have been lifted. This process has not been remarkably hampered even by the latest events when attempts were made to organize youth to produce new social unrest."

RZECZPOSPOLITA stated that "the events were aimed against the process of stabilization, the continuation of dialogue and the building of national accord.

"But, contrary to the inspirations of the organizers, they did not meet with support of an overwhelming majority of the society which retained prudence, having the conviction that only an honest work and order create the possibility to overcome the crisis and further develop the country.

"Martial law is not something constant. It is a transitional state aimed at preserving the country from catastrophe. Its duration will depend on the progress of further stabilization, order, social maturity of all of us.

"Every firebranding, every attempt at upsetting calm, is making the process of normalization difficult and thus the complete withdrawal of the rigours which are still in force today," opined the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA.

TRYBUNA LUDU JUSTIFIES MARTIAL LAW ABNORMALITY

AU111212 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 May 82 p 1

[Zbigniew Lakomski article: "After 5 Months"]

[Text] I do not think that any Pole regards martial law as a normal state and that it should continue forever. However, given its abnormality, martial law is now a state which makes it possible to create foundations for our life's normalization and which can give us this opportunity.

The duration of martial law depends on us -- on whether we are able to use this opportunity and how. This thesis has been repeated so many times that repeating it again might seem superfluous, but it is not, because not everyone seems to understand it.

It is hard not to go back in thought to those days and events that in a way forced the 13 December decision. It is true that the forces -- manipulated from abroad -- that at the time were readying and implementing the scenario for dismantling the socialist state and an economic ruin if not a fratricidal war, are now again rearing their heads, despite martial law and the rigors it involves. This is proof that they have not given up anything and would like to continue to implement their scenario, except that no doubt they are not counting so much on the support of the workers class and are this time trying to hide behind the backs of pupils, students and the youths who are ignorant of the issues at stake and who crave for adventure.

The decisions made by the Military Council of National Salvation -- the Sejm has recognized the purposefulness of these decisions -- have stemmed the rush to an abyss and to a ruin of the state and the economy. They were a shock for everyone because none of us knew what the state of martial law meant. However, these decisions have also sparked off a glimmer of hope for mahy -- for a continuously increasing majority -- as reality became increasingly transparent.

This is because it has become obvious that martial law is imbued with salutary features, even though by its nature it often involved very unpleasant curbs on civic freedoms. If on its credit side we can note features such as curbs on the strikes that ruin the economy and human mentality; curbs on slanders and insults of authority, the state, the party and individual people; curbs on anarchy; an increased sense of security; improvements in law and order; and some improvements in the market situation, although they are still not quite tangible, then we can say that this balancesheet has an unambigious ring.

There is one thing that martial law has certainly not curbed: the right to peaceful and reliable work. On the contrary, the hopes for eliminating martial law are based on such work.

Let us think: how much safer we have felt in work and outside it during the 4 months [of martial law].

Let us think what would have happened if we had again to live the winter under conditions of anarchy and discord. Let us think what would have happened to production in our plants if they were idle instead of working even though at a "reduced pace." Let us think how much worse our payment commitments vis-a-vis foreign countries would have been if we did not increase our exports by increasing the extraction of coal and other minerals.

Let us think whether we would have been able to implement the economic reform, which is our hope for improving the economy and our standards, even though consistent implementation is not as fast as we planned.

Let us remember that, despite martial law, the representative bodies, which prepare the ground for curing our economy by making important decisions in almost all spheres of our life, continue their work without break. Let us recall that martial law has enabled them to service society more efficiently and effectively.

Let us remember that people have raised their heads, that the party is rehabilitating itself, that the nonparty citizens' militancy is increasing and proving itself in the committees for national rebirth and that the state-church dialog continues, despite martial law.

Let us also remember that the authorities are determined to achieve national accord and have so often stressed their determination.

The martial law in Poland does not smack of the martial law in other countries. The approach to it is flexible, and its rigors have been always attenuated.

Our question is: Are we to waste all that and to begin from the beginning? Are we to give up the prospects that even yesterday were quite more obvious than 6 months ago? Why should we give them up? For whose benefit? Certainly not for the benefit of our people, of Poland. That could be of service only to those who hate socialist Poland, who become alarmed even by the slightest improvement in the situation, who would like to change the balance of forces in Europe and the world in line with the saying "the devil take the hindmost," and those who are connected with the most adventurous leading forces of Solidarity, whose links with the Western bourgeois centers are now beyond any doubt. Those people were and are not concerned for the country's genuine cure.

It was they who were put out of joint by May Day demonstrations, in which millions and millions of participants expressed their support for the socialist state. They are trying to blur the meaning of these demonstrations by various counterdemonstrations and riots in Polish cities. Directed by foreign subversive centers, they are trying to induce disoriented and immature young people, who often, unable to understand many things, go out and riot.

This is the only answer to the aforementioned questions.

TRYBUNA LUDU ARTICLES SCORE CONFRONTATIONISTS

LD120922 Warsaw PAP in English 0835 GMT 12 May 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 May (PAP) -- "The protection of the socialist system is connected with the program of national rebirth drafted at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP," the front-page commentary in TRYBUNA LUDU reads.

"The idea of national accord is permanently a fundamental element of the programme of rebirth. But it cannot mean consent for taking up any form of anti-socialist activity aimed against the position of Poland as a member of the community of socialist states and undermining the role of the party in the political life of the country," the paper observed.

TRYBUNA LUDU further states that "dialogue is possible with those who can listen to arguments, who -- directly speaking -- can think politically and historically, valuing patriotic reasons more than their own concepts and ambitions. Dialogue is impossible with enemies and opponents of socialism. Dialogue is indispensable with masses of citizens who possibly are still full of indecision, anxiety and doubt today, yet ready to start working for their country. For patriotism today means only one thing: calm, responsibility, work" the PUWP daily concluded.

"The introduction of martial law, preventing a national catastrophe, did not exert a sobering influence on everybody. Recent developments point to the fact that still there is a group of those who not caring about anybody or anything are pressing to what may be mildly called confrontation, and simply and undisguisedly means fratricidal fight, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote in another article.

Looking back to the development which occurred less than two years ago, TRYBUNA LUDU goes on to say that "everything that the anti-socialist opposition had been doing for a dozen or so months till December 1981, was an attempt to divert the course of not only events but also history.

"Now, after a few months of martial law, the situation is being repeated. Fear is being aroused in the opposition by the consistency of the authorities, and effective fulfillment of the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

"And again the advocates of confrontation started to attack. Uncertain about the support of the working class in the incidents early in May they used the youngest, frequently children. This is treacherous and cruel, but bankrupt politicians have always been unscrupulous.

"Therefore, the advocates of the present confrontation should be asked clearly and straight: Have you really understood nothing over the past few months. Can't you see that Poland will not leave the socialist road?

WARSAW TV CRITICIZES 10 MAY RFE, VOA BROADCASTS

LD111928 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Late last night Radio Free Europe, devoted a considerable part of its program to several statements, which were apparently signed by Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Wladyslaw Hardek and Bogdan Lis. [Word indistinct] these statements are dated 22 April, but Radio Free Europe just broadcast them yesterday. What don't they contain!? The four gentlemen have, as they say, a great underground organization at their disposal. They want to call 15-minute strikes, even a general strike, various boycotts and demonstrations.

We know of historical cases in which certain groups pretend to be powerful underground organizations; it is always easier to get credits and support in the West. The Solidarity signboard is used to authenticate the whole operation.

Radio Free Europe broadcast this yesterday because the idea of course, is to prompt a 15-minute strike on 13 May. In order to frighten people completely, the abovementioned gentlemen say that the Polish authorities are preparing new moves.

Well then, what -- according to them -- can we expect? We quote from a tape recording: there will be a return to the Stalinist system, with an attempt to collectivize the countryside and liquidate the church's independence. One does not know whether to laugh or cry, but that is not the end. Also late in the evening, the Voice of America reported and we quote: According to official reports from Warsaw, workers who respond to the call to strike are liable to receive severe punishments, the death penalty included. End of quote.

Of course, the martial law regulations ban strikes; but as for the death penalty, we recall that Sacco and Vanzetti were not executed in Poland. They were active in trade unions in the country whose government's broadcasting station is called the Voice of America. This broadcasting station has gotten something wrong, including the alleged official reports from Warsaw.

PAP Condemns Radios

LD111530 Warsaw PAP in English 1426 GMT 11 May 82

["For Alliance of Youth and Prudence" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May (PAP) -- After a period of normalization of socio-political situation Poland has once again come to the edge of catastrophe. The direct reason for this was the recent street incidents in which the internal and external opponents of People's Poland, the skillful political gamblers managed to involve stone-armed youth -- the most sensitive part of the society and at the same time the least experienced one and, therefore, susceptible to subversive slogans spread by cynical, behind-the-scenes manipulators.

Feeling safe, because they act from a distance, from the outside, or sit in their hideouts creating around them a nimbus of conspiracy, they have been calling for many months already on people to take to the streets. They are perfectly aware of the fact that "a demonstrating crowd turns easily into a destructive one."

But this is precisely their intention -- to discredit the national accord, to provoke a bloody confrontation and national tragedy once averted owing to the radical steps taken on December 13. That which was planned for December 17 should, according to the inspirators of incidents, be attained now.

In effect of the dramatic decision and at the cost of enormous social shock it became possible then, on December 13, to prevent the country from plunging ever deeper into chaos, to halt the dangerous process which was undermining the fragile stability on the European Continent.

Who, then, may want at present to ruin peace in our country?

The problem has been raised more than once in our country of the ominous connection between the domestic provocateurs and the Western radios which with the power of many megawatts are systematically beaming slogans, meeting venues and instructions.

Therefore, these radios are largely responsible for what happened in Poland as well as for what may happen at their instigation. After all, they are state-run radios such as the BBC or the Voice of America as well as Radio Free Europe which having cast off the guise of a private institution now operates openly under the aegis of the United States Congress.

When the words inciting to riots and rejection of national accord are on the air, everyone, not only the young people, should be aware that they are being drawn into a merciless game whose stake is neither them nor even Poland but the undermining of the global order shaped after World War Two, the undermining of the world socialist system. Those who foment disturbance do not care about improving the situation in Poland. Their only care is for Poland to remain a hotbed of tension. This alone suits their interests, while the Poles are treated by them as a mere tool.

U.S. LINKS GENEVA DISARMAMENT TALKS, POLISH CRISIS

LD111748 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May (PAP) -- Poland's representative at the Geneva Disarmament Committee, Ambassador Bogumil Sujka granted an interview to a TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent in which he summed up the committee's spring session.

He stressed that some delegations, in particular of the USA and NATO countries, were trying to present the current international political situation in the light of developments in Poland in a way suggesting that it was impossible to continue the disarmament talks and that the prevailing atmosphere was not favouring progress in disarmament negotiations.

"They were claiming that the political climate allegedly rendered disarmament impossible, which, in turn, led them to a conclusion that lack of progress in disarmament complicated the political climate," Sujka said.

"It must be stated firmly and clearly that this tendency was opposed by the overwhelming majority of the committee's members.

"These states have objected to the policy of linking the situation in any region of the world to the work of the organ which was called into being not to study the question of international political climate but to conduct concrete disarmament negotiations. And it must be stressed that this stand has prevailed and the committee passed to businesslike, concrete negotiations on the problems envisaged by the agenda.

"Developments in Poland, and chiefly the proclamation of martial law, were recognized in the USA as a pretext for attempting to impose on the world a new stage of global confrontation between capitalism and socialism," Ambassador Sujka opined further.

"American statements indicate that the U.S. administration has come to the conclusion that progress in the social transformations that has been made since the Second World War ought to be halted from the point of view of the U.S. interests. Hence the great hopes that the USA and the West pinned on the evolution of events in Poland after August 1980, being convinced that the development of the situation will lead not only to the collapse of Poland's economy but also to the collapse of state structures.

"Therefore, they reacted with anger to the introduction of martial law which prevented one of the socialist countries from gradually sliding down into an abyss. U.S. delegations are trying to use every international forum to interfere in Poland's affairs. The Geneva session provided many an occasion for this," Sujka stressed.

"Apart from Madrid, Geneva was the most important theatre of the U.S. psychological actions in the period following the introduction of martial law.

"This tide is abating now, chiefly owing to a univocal appraisal of the progressing stabilization in our country, which deprives of arguments. We can see the interest diminishing in Geneva at present. Our Western partners, ever more rarely and with embarrassment refers to these issues. It should be stressed that this evolution is also a result of the firm counter-action by Polish foreign policy," Sujka concluded.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH ON YOUTH DISTURBANCES IN LUBLIN

LD111100 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] "A Bitter Lesson" is the title of a SZTANDAR MLODYCH report devoted to the social unrest of 3 May. The author, Wlodzimierz (Fryzbek), describes the events which took place in Lublin under the constitution monument. The demonstrators apprehended by the forces of order included a considerable group of young people from the prestigious Lublin Jan Zamoyski Lyceum. Wlodzimierz (Fryzbek) shows the sources of the evil, how irresponsible attitudes were formed among the young people of this school. He shows who is guilty and who is implicated. He talks to the pupils, the parents and the educators.

PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE NOTES APRIL TRIAL STATISTICS

LD102146 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 10 May (PAP) -- 157 investigations in summary made against more than 300 civilians were started by military prosecutors in April, a press spokesman for the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office reported.

In the same period, indictments against 195 persons were lodged with military courts. The military courts heard cases of 160 persons, issuing 134 guilty verdicts and acquitting 25 persons. In one case penal proceedings were (?eroded). The vast majority of cases started in April concerns criminal offences, but the number of crimes against martial law is not negligible.

Among those found guilty by military courts in April are Czeslaw Kudlek and Andrzej Smielkiewicz, both LOT Polish airline pilots, who diverted a Polish plane to West Berlin on February 12, thus commiting a desertion from the militarized enterprise. Kudlek received a 15-year prison term, while Smielkiewicz an 8-year term. Both were tried in absentia.

Zbigniew Duzyvski was sentenced to 3 and a half years in prison for illegal possession of weapons. Jan Mietek and Wojciech Civil received two years in jail each for gathering, storing and carrying of illegal publications whose content could provoke public unrest or disturbances.

Jan Chiełowski was sentenced to 4 and a half years' imprisonment and Arkadiusz Makara to 4 years in jail for printing about 1,000 pieces of leaflets containing false information on the socio-political situation in Poland and distributing them in churches in Gdansk.

WARSAW REPORTS RESUMPTION OF KPN LEADERS TRIAL

LD101752 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] The trial of the members of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] leadership resumed today before the Warsaw Military District Court after a break of several days. Today's session has opened a new phase in the proceedings following the reading of the defendants' evidence given before the Warsaw Voivodship Court, that is, the giving of additional evidence by the defendants.

The question which Tadeusz Stanski answered concerned the structure and principles of the functioning of the KPN, its bodies, the political council, and leadership of current operations, and the organization of the printing base of the KPN and its archives.

Leszek Moczulski has also started giving additional evidence. He raised objections to the indictment act which, in his view, is not specific in many places, something which is allegedly delaying the trial.

PROSECUTORS SENTENCE MORE MARTIAL LAW OFFENDERS

AU111351 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 May 82 p 5

[J.S. report: "Communique From the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office"]

[Excerpts] While martial law is in force, military prosecutors are continuing activity against persons who have committed the most serious offences against the interests of the state. They are also protecting the legal order in the armed forces.

In April this year, military prosecutors commenced 157 summary proceedings against over 300 civilians, most of whom were placed under temporary arrest. At the same time, indictments against 195 persons were referred to the military courts during the same period.

During this time, the military courts dealt with 160 persons, sentencing 134 and acquitting 25. A court dismissed the case of one person.

In April, military prosecutors reviewed the sentences of 33 persons. A higher court reviewed the sentences of 19 persons, most often imposing a higher sentence.

Definitely the majority of those proceedings commenced during April concern criminal offences, although the number of martial law offences continues to be pretty large. Among the proceedings are cases against the following persons:

Waclaw Kuchta, Arkadiusz Pyzio, Czeslaw Padzior, Jan Nowak, Wlodzimierz Kowalski and Stanislaw Syrdel, employees at the diesel engine factory in Andrychow, are suspected of having, as Solidarity members, continued their activity in this organization after the introduction of martial law, preparing, gathering, storing and publishing, by means of an illegal printing press installed in the cellar of A. Pyzio's home, material containing false information likely to cause public unrest or disturbances;

Ryszard Thiel, Adam Kluska, Waldemar Stocki, Marek Zawadzki, Janusz Parkita, Miroslaw Burakowski and Miroslaw Symonowicz are suspected of having organized and taken part in an illegal organization called "the angels of death", whose existence and purpose was supposed to be a secret before the state authorities;

Adam Klimek, Bogdan Platek, Krystian Kaczmarek, Krzysztof Jesionek, Miroslaw Kasprzak and Michal Tyczynski, employees at the district surveying and cartographic enterprise in Gdansk, and Andrzej Ogonowski, employed at the Gdansk polytechnic, are suspected of having prepared, stored and transported, for the purpose of distributing, printed matter inciting people to ignore the legal regulations in force during martial law;

Zbigniew Szafran, employed at the "Skolwin" paper plant in Szczecin, is suspected of having led an illegal organization called "the rifle team", whose aim was to destroy a monument in Goleniow. He accepted four boys of minor age and a pupil of the School of Agriculture building in Szczecin as members, the last of whom illegally possessed and stored explosive material in the form of trotyl;

Stanislaw Matysiak, executive director of the railroad health service at the Polish State Railways headquarters in Warsaw, is suspected of having deserted last February during a business trip abroad while undergoing service with the militarized Polish State Railways. He remained in West Germany and refused to return to Poland;

Franciszek Cieslak, a doctor at the health care center in Ruda Slaska, is suspected of having illegally crossed the Polish-Czech border with the aim of getting to Austria and West Germany.

In April, military courts sentenced the following persons, among others:

Zbigniew Duzynski was sentenced by the naval court to deprivation of freedom for 3 years and 6 months and loss of civic rights for 1 year, for illegally possessing and storing a machine pistol with ammunition;

Jan Mietek, employed at the Lenin steelworks, and Wojciech Ciula, employed at the health care center No 2 in Krakow, were each sentenced by the Warsaw Military District Court to deprivation of freedom for 2 years and loss of civic rights for 2 years, for jointly gathering, storing and conveying, for the purpose of distribution, the illegal "Lesser Poland Bulletin" and other publications, whose contents were likely to cause public unrest or disturbances;

The naval court sentenced Jan Chmielowski to deprivation of freedom for 4 years and 6 months plus loss of civic rights for 3 years; and Arkadiusz Makar to deprivation of freedom for 4 years plus loss of civic rights for 3 years, for printing in Gdansk around 1,000 leaflets, declarations by the so-called young Poland movement, containing false information about the sociopolitical situation in Poland and about the way the authorities were treating interned persons. They then distributed these leaflets in churches in Gdansk and in the electric trains serving the tricity.

PAP REPORTS POPE'S APPOINTMENT OF NEW BISHOPS

LD102220 Warsaw PAP in English 2038 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 10 May (PAP) -- The secretariat of the primate of Poland has reported that Pope John Paul II has elected to the position of bishop two Polish priests.

One is Professor Piotr Hamperek [name as received], a lecturer in canon law at the Lublin Catholic University, who has been made auxiliary to Lublin Diocese ordinary. The other is Mieczyslaw Jaworski, parson of the Cathedral [word indistinct] of Kielce, who was made auxiliary to Bishop Stanislaw Szymecki, the Kielce ordinary.

DAILY SCORES KULTURA ATTACK ON EPISCOPATE

LD111530 Warsaw PAP in English 1415 GMT 11 May 82

["Shots From Behind Paris Fence" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May (PAP) -- "In its January issue (1/414) the Paris-based emigre weekly KULTURA launched an unprecedented attack on the leadership of the Catholic Church in Poland. It was not for the first time. For example, following August 1980 it published an aggressive article aimed against the late Poland's Primate Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. Also this time, like previously, the article was by-lined 'editorial board'. This is quite meaningful," said the Polish Catholic newspaper SLOWO POWSZECHNE in an extensive article about the recent indiscriminate assaults of the Paris KULTURA accusing Archbishop Jozef Glemp of conciliatory approach to the Polish authorities.

"Giedroyc [editor of KULTURA] has been left with one more game to play: an arrogant attempt at confronting 'the conciliatory' Polish Episcopate with 'uncompromising' Pope John Paul II.

"Yet knowing how slippery this game is, he was afraid to use the prestige of 'the editorial board'. So, accordingly, he used two other texts published in that issue of KULTURA. One was 'The Diary Written at Night' by Guslaw Herling-Grudzinski, whom nothing can harm any more, and the other article was 'Let's Stand by the Principles' signed with the nick-name Socjusz. Of course, the things here concern the attitudes towards the socio-political issues of contemporary Poland.

"What purpose is to be served by this indiscriminate intrigue? Obviously, the purpose is still the same: to destroy the prestige of the church in Poland, and only because this church has to play an important role in the process of national agreement. Through the mouths of the pope and the Polish primate the church is constantly calling for the preservation of social peace. This is the role that the Paris KULTURA wants to undermine, weaken or even thwart."

"The mark of truth of the Paris KULTURA is ignominious -- it is the service for the enemies of Poland," stated SLOWO POWSZECHNE.

"On February 28, Radio Free Europe aired an appeal by 'Polish intellectuals' to the FRG society and government. That the appeal was for a toughening up of the economic sanctions against Poland and for toeing the Reagan political line -- is understandable, when one considers who signed the appeal.

"Yet the statement contained in the appeal that 'both the Poles and the Germans are suffering from the arbitrary division of our continent' -- an invitation to a death tango for the entire Europe -- makes a (?sense) if memorizing the names of the signatories: Ryszard Batory, Miroslaw Chojceki, Piotr Naimski, Leszek Kolakowski, (?Piotr Machiewicz), Tadeusz Nowakowski and Jerzy Giedroyc -- boss of the Paris KULTURA.

"What is this society of traders [as received] in Poland and the church counting on?

"The late Polish primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, cautioned (the Polish people) against those who shoot from behind the Paris fence," concluded the Polish Catholic daily.

RZECZPOSPOLITA INTERVIEWS FOREIGN MINISTER

AU102042 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Maria Wagrowska interview with Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and foreign affairs minister: "Peace and Relaxation Are Our Invariable Goals" -- capitalized passages published in boldface, date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Citizen Minister, after Leonid Brezhnev's latest proposal for a summit meeting with the U.S. president the world is hoping for an improved climate in international relations and for concrete results in disarmament talks. Is the announcement of the meeting a factor contributing toward the relaxation of tensions?

[Answer] It is worth remembering the obvious truth that those two big powers bear particular responsibility for the destinies of the world, for the preservation of peace and the consolidation of international security. In contemporary history, including the time of the Second World War and the world's postwar development, big powers with their enormous and all-round potentials have exerted and continue to exert great influence on the processes on which the future of the whole mankind depends.

Important issues of interest to the big powers lend particular significance to summit meetings held by their leaders. It is sufficient to refer to the historic meetings in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam which contributed to the defeat of the Third Reich and its allies by the anti-Hitlerite coalition and to the establishment of the postwar order in Europe, and to refer to the subsequent meetings held by leaders of the USSR and the United States to lay the foundations for and to develop the detente policy in East-West relations. The preaceful order established then and confirmed in the agreements concluded by the socialist states with the FRG and in the Helsinki Final Act is a pillar of security in Europe. That should be borne in mind not only on the occasion of V-Day celebrations on 9 May.

OVER A YEAR AGO AT THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS LEONID BREZHNEV EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO CONTINUE THE SOVIET-AMERICAN DIALOGUE AND POINTED OUT THE PARTICULAR ROLE OF SUMMIT MEETINGS. THAT OFFER WAS MAINTAINED DESPITE THE COLD WAR, CONFRONTATION POLICY PURSUED BY THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION WITH REGARD TO THE USSR.

When, after the long delay and under the pressure of world and American opinion, President Reagan recently signaled his interest in such a meeting during the June 1982 United Nations General Assembly special session in New York, Leonid Brezhnev once again confirmed his readiness to hold a summit meeting. While pointing out the need to prepare for the summit carefully and to hold it in a well-prepared way, he proposed that it be held in a third country, for example Finland or Switzerland, in October 1982.

IT IS HOPED THAT THE SOVIET LEADER'S LATEST PROPOSAL WILL SET IN MOTION THE PROCESS OF BUSINESS-LIKE PREPARATIONS FOR THAT MEETING AND WILL GIVE AN IMPETUS TO THE SOVIET-AMERICAN DIALOGUE AT OTHER LEVELS. THUS IT MAY BRING ABOUT A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. HOWEVER, IT DEPENDS ON THE REAL U.S. POLITICAL WILL TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND TO CONDUCT A DIALOGUE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MUTUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

Although the subject of discussions has not been defined, in your question you were right to refer to the influence of the meeting on disarmament talks. The problems of limiting armaments and of disarmament, primarily involving strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range nuclear weapons, are in the focus of the Soviet-American dialogue. THUS IT IS TO BE EXPECTED THAT THE FOREMOST ISSUE AT THE SUMMIT MEETING WILL BE HOW TO CHECK THE ARMS RACE, HOW TO LIMIT AND TO SUCCESSIVELY REDUCE ARMAMENTS. This is why the very announcement of the meeting should be a factor stimulating the disarmament dialogue and facilitating the relaxation of tensions. That is what all nations are waiting for.

I WOULD LIKE TO ADD THAT POLAND, FOR WHOM DETENTE IS AN IMPORTANT PREMISE FOR EMERGING FROM THE CRISIS, IS VITALLY INTERESTED IN AN IMPROVEMENT IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, IN CHECKING THEIR DANGEROUS RACE, AND IN PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT TALKS.

Thus we pin our heartfelt hopes on the announced meeting. In our political and diplomatic activity, we will do our utmost to support the strivings to make the meeting maximally effective.

[Question] Would you please evaluate the preparations made to date for the second UN special session on disarmament, which is to be held in New York in June 1982.

[Answer] As far as convening the second UN General Assembly special session on disarmament is concerned, appropriate decisions have already been adopted, its proceedings will continue from 7 June to 7 July 1982, and the agenda has been fixed. The preparations for the session are now in full swing. The 40-state disarmament committee working on a comprehensive disarmament program, which is scheduled to be discussed at the second special session as one of the major documents, has just completed its annual spring session in Geneva.

The preparatory committee for the second session will shortly open in New York the last series of sessions to settle in particular pending organizational issues in connection with the session. Thus from the formal point of view, the preparations for the session are progressing smoothly.

However, what matters is chiefly the substance of the session, THE ABILITY OF THE SESSION TO ADOPT DECISIONS TO CURB THE ARMS RACE, STIMULATE AND ACCELERATE DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. The discussions held to date in preparations for the session have proved that that task is not easy. The session falls in a difficult international situation, in a period when the United States and other NATO states are intensifying the arms race, particularly as regards the most dangerous, nuclear weapons, a period when world peace is increasingly being jeopardized and disarmament talks are either suspended or deadlocked.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE FIRST DISARMAMENT SESSION IN 1978 -- AND PARTICULARLY OF THE ACTIVITY PROGRAM ADOPTED BY IT FOR DISARMAMENT -- IS BOUND TO BE AND WILL BE EVALUATED CRITICALLY, BECAUSE THE WORLD OPINION AND MOST UN MEMBER STATES FEEL DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS. POLAND AND OTHER SOCIALIST STATES FULLY SHARE THAT CONCERN AND CRITICAL EVALUATION. THAT WILL CERTAINLY BE STRONGLY MANIFESTED AT THE SESSION ITSELF.

However, in our opinion and in the opinion of many UN member states, the special session should not restrict itself to the statement and criticism of the unsatisfactory state of affairs. Indeed, it should make the nations of the world and their governments aware of the whole danger inherent in the present confrontation trends, and, above all, it should reverse those tendencies, should check the senseless arms race, particularly in nuclear weapons, should bring about the return to a business-like dialogue on disarmament, or its invigoration wherever it had been suspended. Speaking briefly, what matters is a constructive outcome of the session.

That is the sense of our preparations for the session and those are the hopes we have pinned on them.

[Question] It is a pleasure to note that Poland has recently intensified its activity in the international arena again. We would like to ask what is the role of Polish foreign policy and Polish diplomacy in the further development of political and economic relations in the world, and particularly with regard to our partners in Eastern and Western Europe?

[Answer] Our country's importance for consolidating the postwar peaceful order in Europe, its situation at the heart of the old continent, its role in international politics and cooperation call on us to intensify our activity in the international arena, particularly when tensions in that continent are growing. OUR INVARIABLE OBJECTIVE IS TO SAFEGUARD THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALIST POLAND BY CONSISTENT EFFORTS FOR PEACE, FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE DETENTE PROCESS, FOR DISARMAMENT AND FOR DEVELOPING CLOSE COOPERATION WITH ALL STATES. POLAND'S PRESENT INTERNATIONAL POSITION WILL DEPEND ON OUR ABILITY TO EFFICIENTLY AND RAPIDLY SETTLE INTERNAL PROBLEMS, TO STRENGTHEN THE STATE STRUCTURES AND TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY.

In connection with that, in foreign politics we are and will be doing our utmost to provide exterior conditions conducive to that purpose.

OUR PRIORITY TARGET IS TO CONSOLIDATE AND TO DEVELOP CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST STATES, PARTICULARLY WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WHOSE ALLIANCE AND COOPERATION ARE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR SECURITY AND THE INVIOLABILITY OF OUR BORDERS. We endeavor to contribute our part to the coordinated and constructive foreign policy pursued by Warsaw Pact member states; we actually support the USSR's peaceful initiatives. We aspire to foster economic cooperation with the socialist states, also by means of improving the CEMA system. IN THIS RESPECT, THE VISIT PAID RECENTLY TO MOSCOW BY ARMY GENERAL W. JARUZELSKI, PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE FIRST SECRETARY, COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CHAIRMAN AND CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION, AT THE HEAD OF THE PARTY-GOVERNMENT DELEGATION, WAS AN EVENT OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE. That was also the purpose of the visits paid by our delegations to Berlin, Prague and Budapest, and shortly to Sofia, as well as of the invigorated contacts, particularly of the economic ones.

The developing relations with the socialist states not only help to stabilize our internal situation and consolidate our international position, but also -- owing to the consolidation of the community of the socialist states -- is an important factor fostering the balance of forces in Europe and thus promoting security in the continent. Of course, that positively affects the situation all over the world.

AS FAR AS WESTERN EUROPE IS CONCERNED, IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT POLAND WAS A PRECURSOR OF DETENTE AND A STATE DYNAMIZING THE EAST-WEST POLITICAL DIALOGUE AND NECESSARY TO BASE OUR EFFORTS ON WHAT IS COMMON FOR EUROPEAN PEOPLES, THAT IS, ON THE WILL FOR PEACE AND SECURITY, ON THEIR INTEREST IN UNRESTRAINED COOPERATION. THIS IS THE BASIS ON WHICH WE ALSO WISH TO DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH OUR WESTERN PARTNERS.

Under the conditions of tension, we are not relaxing but intensifying our foreign political activity. At the Madrid CSCE meeting, while rebuffing the attempts to interfere in our internal affairs, we did our best to protect the CSCE process from breaking down. We are using the present time before the resumed meeting for intense bilateral consultations in order to secure its positive outcome. On behalf of the USSR, the GDR, the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic, in February 1982 the Polish delegation to the Vienna talks presented a draft agreement on the first stage of reducing armed forces and armaments in central Europe. At the last session of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, we presented the idea, also discussed in the Sejm, of fostering economic confidence in order to protect economic cooperation from the negative effect of the deteriorating political relations. There are more such examples.

THE ATTEMPTS MADE RECENTLY BY SOME WESTERN GOVERNMENTS TO INTERFERE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND TO APPLY VARIOUS FORMS OF PRESSURE ARE OBJECTIVELY HARMFUL TO ALL EUROPEAN STATES BECAUSE THEY DIRECTLY RESULT IN MAKING THE POLITICAL SITUATION WORSE ON OUR CONTINENT.

WE ARE OPEN AND READY TO DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH ALL STATES ON THE BASIS OF THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL COEXISTENCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, ALL THE ATTEMPTS TO EXERT PRESSURE ON POLAND ARE DOOMED TO FAILURE. Neither shall we allow ourselves to be pushed into isolation. After all, is it possible to isolate a country like Poland? That is unrealistic. We note with attention the growing voices in the West that the political line adopted with regard to Poland is without any prospects, it is harmful not only to Poland but also to the cause of detente and European cooperation.

On the global scale, as a member of the UN Security Council for the next 2 years, we have an important role to play in settling world problmes. In this field, we will be invariably guided by the principles of our foreign policy, by the interests of the international community, by the supreme interests of preserving world peace and of protecting mankind from the catastrophe of a nuclear war.

CZYREK CRITICIZES WEST'S ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

AU111210 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and foreign minister, at the 6 May session of socioeconomic aktivs in Sieradz to discuss party tasks posed by the eighth party plenum resolutions]

[Text] Speaking in the discussion at the session, J. Czyrek said that the international conditions could favor or hinder the implementation of Poland's aims. Economic cooperation with foreign countries, which is an element of our strategy, should be supported by our domestic efforts, which are the most important prerequisite for the success of our actions. The aggravation of the crisis is responsible for the fact that economic problems have a very important place in the foreign department. Polish foreign policy is concentrating all its efforts to create external conditions that help Poland to overcome its crisis and to counter the attempts to discriminate against it economically and politically. We are now going through the most difficult period since the end of World War II. Regarding detente as an obstacle to the West's overall interests and refusing to come to terms with the development of the world balance of power, the NATO militaristic circles have adopted the line of confrontation. Political tension has been extended to the field of the economy, and economic relations have become more than ever an instrument of external political pressure. The West's economic restrictions against Poland are a dramatic expression of that and constitute a violation of the customs in force and of the valid norms of international law. There is no doubt that these restrictions are causing specific damage to our living conditions and to our people's work and are hindering our efforts to overcome our economic crisis, to stabilize the domestic situation and to implement the reform. The range of that damage is much greater if we take into account international relations as a whole, because restrictions undermine trust, which is so needed in economic relations and in developing economic cooperation.

We tell the sponsors of those restrictions that the policy of economic pressure vis-a-vis the socialist countries has never produced the planned results and that it is doomed to failure this time too. That policy will have damaged bilateral relations and the comprehensive efforts to strengthen international trust and security and to develop an international division of labor that is consistent with the interests of all nations.

To protect economic cooperation against the negative influence of political factors, the Polish Government has proposed that means of economic trust should be established to ensure international economic security. We developed that proposal at the recent session of the ECE of the United Nations. We want to ban economic restrictions and sanctions, which undermine efforts to meet the basic needs of man -- primarily his needs in food, health and hygiene.

It is possible to overcome the serious crisis, to eliminate the difficulties in international trade and to embark the country on the straight road to socialist development only through selfless efforts of all the people and through temporary sacrifices. There is simply no other way, and we must tell this truth to all our people. This is now one of the most important tasks and one of the most important criteria of patriotism, because what is at stake is the present day, the existence of all of us and the happy tomorrow of our fatherland. As Norwid, the poet, has said: "The fatherland is a great collective duty."

BRIEFS

TRADE DEAL WITH HUNGARY -- A mutually beneficial foreign trade deal has been concluded between Poland and Hungary in Budapest. Weglokokz is to supply the Hungarian Lignimpex with about 44,000 tons of coal. In exchange, Poland is to receive almost 35,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer from Chemolimpex. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1410 GMT 10 May 82 LD]

REAGAN INITIATIVE ON ARMS CUTBACK REPORTED

LD101246 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1140 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] New York, 10 May (TANJUG) -- President Reagan has proposed to the Soviet Union a plan on the basis of which the two superpowers would cut back by one-third the number of their nuclear warheads for ballistic missiles.

The plan was put forward by Reagan in his speech at Eureka College, from which he graduated fifty years ago.

According to U.S. estimates, the superpowers now have about 7,500 nuclear warheads each. Their reduction to 5,000 on each side would make up stage one of Reagan's plan. Stage two provides for the acceptance by both sides of "an equal ceiling for the other elements of their strategic forces".

President Reagan announced that in a letter to Soviet leader Brezhnev he suggested that the two governments start formal negotiations on a reduction of nuclear weapons by the end of next month. He indicated that the United States does not pose any preconditions and that "it will give careful consideration to all Soviet proposals."

SUNDIC VIEWS POSSIBLE REAGAN-BREZHNEV MEETING

LD111724 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 May 82

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Reagan's proposal to Brezhnev on the reduction of nuclear arms in two stages, regardless of Moscow's reaction, represents the first more serious effort by the American President to have the two superpowers begin a dialogue at the highest level. Reagan continues to offer New York as the venue of the meeting with Brezhnev, but he is also prepared to meet the Soviet leader in some other country. Let us recall that Brezhnev recently proposed Switzerland or Finland.

At first glance the American President's proposal offers much. The impression is even gained that what is at stake is a great American change in the approach to the problem of disarmament. In fact, Reagan's missile calculation is composed in such a way that it is neither easy to reject nor to accept without supplementary explanations. In fact, it eliminates fears from the Soviet missile potential and at the same time intensifies some American advantages.

However, what is most essential of all, which signifies something new in the American approach, consists of the following: Reagan is offering Moscow a dialogue without preliminary preconditions and on approximately equal foundations. If the Soviet Government finds in the American President's proposal sufficient elements to begin the dialogue, this would be enough to define the summit, by appropriate channels or by personal correspondence between Brezhnev and Reagan, maybe precisely at the time proposed by the Soviet head of state and party in his well-known statement to PRAVDA. The moment chosen by Reagan to propose to the Soviet Union negotiations on a reduction in the existing nuclear arms suggests some deliberations linked with the state of relations inside the Western military alliance. For, so long as the cracks in the relations between the United States and its allies have not been so visible, Reagan has not dealt in such a way with relations with Moscow. On the contrary, all his statements on Soviet policy and Soviet conduct have been tough and extremely irreconcilable. Now, however, there is no such irreconcilable attitude, that is, an attitude which would rule out any possibility of negotiating with the Soviet Union.

With this, of course, we do not wish to say that the American President has wanted to draw a veil over the troubles which America has recently experienced, in particular since the outbreak of the Falklands crisis which has disrupted its relations with the countries which are members of the OAS, but that all this has exerted an influence on his relatively conciliatory attitude toward Moscow is more than evident.

Of course, it would be highly dangerous to take this as the point of departure in the analyses of Reagan's offer to Moscow. Such an approach would destroy any hope of holding the Soviet-American meeting at the highest level, not only this year but next year as well. Moscow is certain to find quite a number of faults with Reagan's proposal and, judging by everything, it will not hesitate long before announcing them to the public. However, it would be in all likelihood best if the correspondence between Moscow and Washington were to be broken off with the joint decision about the negotiations beginning as soon as possible. Senator Edward Kennedy is right when he said in connection with Reagan's proposal that the freezing of nuclear arms at the present level represents the best path to put an end to the arms race. Such an approach is closer to Moscow than to Washington, but it is also apparently the most realistic.

USSR 'READINESS' TO IMPROVE TIES WITH PRC REPORTED

LD111816 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1726 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Moscow, 11 May (TANJUG) -- Moscow has again hinted to Beijing its readiness to discuss an improvement in relations with China. The Soviet starting point for future negotiations was set out by Soviet state and party leader Leonid Brezhnev in a speech in Tashkent a month and a half ago.

In a statement published by PRAVDA today, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko said that Moscow was patiently waiting for China's reply to these proposals.

On the other hand, commenting on the recent visit to China by U.S. Vice President George Bush, PRAVDA today accused the U.S. administration of seeking to tie China to "its instigatory, anti-Soviet policy". Furthermore, in an article on Victory Day, Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Ustinov two days ago criticised both the U.S. policy and the Chinese leadership's "hegemonist course."

Despite such assessments, which were also present in Brezhnev's Tashkent speech, Moscow has been indicating that the door to negotiations with China remains open. Involved is an effort to revive former negotiations along both tracks-those on a normalisation of inter-state relations, and those on the settlement of border disputes.

In view of the fact that the Chinese leadership has not rejected the offer to negotiate, though it has resolutely dismissed Soviet criticism of some aspects of its foreign policy, observers in Moscow envisage a possible resumption of Soviet-Chinese negotiations on border disputes this year. However, negotiations on all-round bilateral relations are still in the air.

INDIAN PRESIDENT ENDS VISIT AFTER TALKS, TOUR

LD101038 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0951 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] Split, 10 May (TANJUG) -- Indian President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy today left Yugoslavia after a five-day official and friendly visit to this country.

During the visit, the president of friendly, nonaligned India had talks with President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher. Beside Belgrade, he also toured the Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

CASTRO SENDS CABLE REGARDING FALKLANDS ISSUE

LD111510 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 11 May (TANJUG) -- Cuban President Fidel Castro has sent a message to the SFRY Presidency which refers to the crisis concerning the Malvinas Islands.

BORBA Comments on Conflict

AU101630 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 82 p 10

[Vlado Teslic commentary: "The World This Week? War and Other Errors"]

[Text] The armed conflict between Britain and Argentina in the South Atlantic has now passed its operetta and colonial stage and confronted mankind with the well known challenges of contemporary international problems, the demonstration of force, bloc alignments and confrontations, solidarity of the North in the preservation of its privileged positions and serious threats to world peace.

There is hope that the armed clashes will be quickly stopped and that the negotiations on solving the dispute by peaceful means will be resumed, but it is already clear now that in the South Atlantic and the wider region of the so-called Western Hemisphere nothing will be the same as before. The conflict has provoked great political processes which confront Latin America with new realities and pressures from a majority of the Western developed and bloc countries.

In the final consideration, the fact that Britain resorted to armed force to retain a nearly completely insignificant colonial possession is not really as unusual as is the siding of the leading Western countries -- first of all those of the European community and then the United States -- with Britain. Never before have all these countries imposed any economic sanctions as quickly as they imposed them now against Argentina although, until now, these same countries have blocked all attempts of the United Nations to introduce sanctions against South Africa or Israel because of their open aggression.

Washington has certainly taken the greatest risk by openly siding with Great Britain at the height of its own great political, economic and diplomatic offensive to strengthen its leading positions in Latin America. The British fleet would have hardly been able to intervene in the South Atlantic without American military assistance. At least until more light is shed on the American preoccupations, the credible appraisal is that, in these preoccupations, priority is given to North Atlantic solidarity which at least insures American leadership and which allegedly is more promising within the context of bloc confrontation with the USSR, something that probably continues to be the priority strategy of American foreign policy.

However, Washington is already facing serious repercussions of its mistaken evaluation of priorities and of the outcome of the conflict in the South Atlantic, not so much because of the possible Soviet reaction and assistance to Argentina -- something that has not yet taken place, but something that is inevitably approaching -- as because of a discredited political approach to an entire continent which feels deceived and humiliated and which will experience the tragic episode in the South Atlantic not only as a matter of national honor, but as a class pressure of the powerful North against the undeveloped South.

Since the political errors were based on the military ones -- about the superiority of the British (Atlantic) arms -- it was inevitable that a political sobering would follow after the failure of the British punitive expedition. This is also the reason for a certain retreat by the United States, which reproaches its British allies, for having lightly embarked on conflicts; and NATO, for continuing to condemn the Argentine invasion of the disputed islands while, at the same time, refraining from unconditionally supporting the British military operations and Margaret Thatcher's government, which accepts negotiations although, at the same, it continues to threaten military action.

Regardless of the conditions now set by Britain and Argentina, what is essential is the fact that both sides are prepared to end military operations and return to negotiations. Both sides are naturally still very far from agreeing on the key issue of the crisis, sovereignty over the islands. This is also the advantage of the proposal by Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, which places the main emphasis on the cessation of military actions and leaves the issue of sovereignty for negotiations, probably counting on a compromise in this connection.

The new military forces that are being dispatched by Britain make the numerous mediators' task more difficult, not to mention the fact that they also do not make any easier the positions of Britain, whose chances, like those of Argentina, do not lie in military forces, which are as vulnerable as any other military forces. After all, the destructive missiles have reduced the once powerful naval fleet to its proper size, just as the political pressures and global bloc concepts are in the final resort less and less successful in the face of the orientation of an enormous number of countries toward independence, sovereignty over their own territory, noninterference and democratization of international relations.

DRAGOSAVAC DISCUSSES LCY CONGRESS, PARTY DISCIPLINE

LD112250 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 11 May 82

[Interview granted by Dr Dusan Dragosvac, president of the LCY Presidium, to Muharem Kulenovic and Miroslav Lilic, Zagreb radio and television editors: -- recorded -- date not given]

[Text] [Question] Holding party congresses and conferences in the republics and provinces and intensive preparations for the 12th LCY Congress are a kind of mobilization of Yugoslav communists. The past period at the electoral conferences in the work collectives and local communities throughout our country [word indistinct] membership of the League of Communists was concerned with questions of further economic and political development. How do you, Comrade Dragosavac, assess the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress?

[Answer] I think that these have been very intensive preparations; that the organizations and leaderships have kept in mind both the international situation, in which we are all a part and in which we are active, and, of course, the internal situation with all those, so to speak, positive and negatives elements.

I think if we were to look at the political preparations, the activity of the organizations, the standpoints, the discussions which have been held, the stands which have been taken, and if we were to look at the cadre question, the election and in the final analysis the composition of the elected bodies, we would see that much has already been completed. When we look at the compositions I think that we can say they are positive. Of course all cadres must affirm themselves in practice. They must affirm themselves in the tasks in the forthcoming period and mandate.

I think the cadres have been engaged in a businesslike and self-management manner. When talking about this we need to mention stabilization. We still cannot be satisfied with the stabilization conduct as a whole. We are talking here about practice.

I think that we still do not understand that the international situation -- this means price increases for oil, technology and raw materials, and the question of the arms race -- is imposed on us and requires increased expenditure. We must take this into account in our overall consumption.

[Question] You said on several occasions that attention has been brought to these matters at the Central Committee Presidium and (?in the) republics and provinces. It is obvious that there has been a lack of discipline among the party membership and others.

[Answer] Attention has been brought to these matters and (?standpoints) have also been decided upon, but not enough has been done. I believe you also have in mind the question of pushing economic laws into the background. Are we pushing them into the background, and can we push them into the background? Seen from the economic viewpoint, as soon as there is no desire there is no longer any possibility. What can we keep in mind as a socialist society? We should remember that within these objectively given possibilities the amount of income we create should be distributed in the optimum manner.

The distribution of income should stimulate work and the productivity of labor. We should consider socialist solidarity because we are a socialist society. But this should not be solidarity in consumption -- there is enough of this -- but solidarity in work. When we stimulate work, and when talking about personal income, we should as far as possible stimulate primarily productive and creative work; we should discourage inactivity. In this respect we must, of course, as a socialist society take into account those who cannot work.

In this connection I would like to say something else: the phrase "we are giving up things" -- is often heard nowadays. I think this phrase is wrong. To begin with, you can only give up what you already have and you cannot give up what you do not have. If we have gone too far -- and in some investments we have -- with schools, colleges and the like, then our national income will clearly reflect this. Here, too, the working people must undertake stabilization and other forms of saving. We are often asked about the standard of living: Is the standard of living going to fall or not? Price increases in energy, price increases in raw materials, the intensification of the arms race have caused a reduction in the standard of living. We know how to conduct ourselves accordingly. We must be aware that even now, even when we are working our hardest, in view of all these external, severe circumstances, we cannot retain our standard of living at the existing level. The standard of living must fall to some extent, but we can and should ensure that it does not fall for those who work well, and that it even rises for those who work well. We must create the conditions for the standard of living to rise more stably and relatively quickly. When I say "relatively quickly," this does not mean in 1 month or 1 year's time.

Comrade Tito stated that we should not cover up things in our own house. Everyone should see for himself whether he has carried out his tasks. Only then does he have the right to criticize someone else.

[Question] For over 40 years Josip Broz Tito was one of the leading personalities of the world workers and communist movement. Under his leadership Yugoslavia achieved immense economic and social prosperity and world prestige. We are preparing and holding -- for the first time in new Yugoslavia -- the party congress without Tito and without his closest associate Edvard Kardelj. Does this fact, Comrade Dragosavac, give the forthcoming 12th LCY Congress some kind of special characteristic, special significance?

[Answer] Well, your comment is correct that this is the first postwar congress that we will be holding without Tito and without his closest associate Kardelj. In this connection, and with reference to these two great men of our revolution, I would say that Tito and Kardelj were great personalities because they were part of the working class. This working class had its historical tasks which it carried out in the armed revolution. Tito and Kardelj were able to become great men because they were part of and an expression of this revolution. You remember that Tito always stressed that he alone could not have done anything. He stressed that what he did he did together with his associates and with the entire working class. Even when Tito became a legend in his lifetime, not even then did he or his closest associate Kardelj ever separate themselves from the masses. When we look at this century we see that there are two periods which give this century its characteristics. These periods are of course the result of a long-term development. These two periods are the overthrow of fascism and the overthrow of Stalinism. In both of these periods, crucial periods not only for us but also for the history of socialism and the workers' movement, Tito was the one who, at the head of the party, of the League of Communists, waged our revolution.

It is no coincidence that we have always been on the side of those who are in a more unfavorable position. Take, for instance, decolonization. Take the development of socialism as a world process. We have always supported every revolutionary and liberation movement. Furthermore, take the idea and practice of the Nonaligned Movement. All this has been affirmed. All these are, so to say, golden pages of the history of our national liberation movement, of our revolution, of our party and of our League of Communists, but also, of course, of Tito and Kardelj, the great historical personalities. In view of the continuity of the revolution, Tito and Kardelj will also be present at our 12th congress.

[Question] You have already spoken about the world economic crisis, and naturally this is also reflected in our lives. We have spoken of increased inflation, we have spoken about excessive investments, and we have to add the problem of market supply and the problem of reproduction materials for the economy, and so on. All these are elements which caused the curbing of socialist self-management by excessive state interventions and by the penetration of etatist socioeconomic relations. Please comment briefly on this question.

[Answer] Well, you see, I think the fact is that the contemporary world is in a great [word indistinct]. Above all, I would say something about the elements of this. Socialism has become a world process. Socialism is not limited by borders of states which have declared themselves to be building socialism. It is not restricted to communist parties or to workers' parties either. Socialism is much broader and it is in this that its great strength lies. This anticolonial movement, the struggle for equality, is something that has become a world process. And yet, despite all of this, we are correct in saying that it is now that both the economic and political crisis in the world has severely exacerbated. This is a long-time crisis. This is not merely an economic crisis; it is a deep and structural crisis. The capitalist system is in a crisis and the etatist system is in a crisis. This is in fact a crisis of social relations. When we speak of the crisis of energy, of the crisis of raw materials, of food, and so on, I would stress that this is also a problem of intensified sovereignty of the countries which have until recently been colonies. You know that we are affected because we do not have much oil, we are affected by the price increases in oil. We are, of course, also affected with regard to technology because we are great importers. [Words indistinct] prices also increased, more quickly than the prices of oil, only these increases of technology prices are bigger because the monopolies still have such great influence. More is known about oil and its price increases than the price increases of technology. For principled reasons we back this international economic order. The aspect in which we are so critical is the fact that neither the capitalist governments and, unfortunately, many socialist governments have no understanding of the need to help the underdeveloped countries for a more just economic order. However, we are very critical about the blows dealt in the capital sector, which also affect us very much, for instance, with regard to the question of interest rates. Interest rates also affect the underdeveloped countries. Therefore, we are also fighting for a new economic order. We see that (?many) countries demand equality on the one hand, and on the other, fight to retain hegemony -- both economic and, of course, political hegemony.

We have lagged behind in the economic sphere and all this came to be reflected in the [word indistinct] of the balance of payments in [word indistinct] and inflation, in what you refer to as irregular market supplies, and there are major problems emerging here. In this respect, I must say that there is also a considerable degree of irresponsibility on our part. Often one thinks that all these major investment problems can be solved immediately, and then economies are made at the expense of some relatively small items on our balance sheets with regard to supplies. We are a country with trade amounting to tens of billions in both directions. Imports run at $15 billion or $16 billion, and then we often cause both major political and economic problems on the market for the sake of perhaps $200 million or $300 million. Therefore, since it is impossible to do everything, priorities must be set. It goes without saying that priority should be given to the economy, so that it can function normally and supply the population. Numerous investments must wait. Here too, in keeping the economy supplied, it must be determined whether we can keep all of it supplied, because some of it was developed when [word indistinct] was cheap. Now this has changed and consequently some deliberate changes must be made. It is better to pay a part of these people until things have (?improved), than to let unbridled development continue, whether it is profitable or unprofitable. We must, before the congress, at the congress and after the congress, overcome this problem, get the best of it.

[Question] With a much greater feeling of responsibility?

[Answer] Yes. In this respect, I do not think that we should adopt a defensive posture with regard to self-management. I would not say that all this is [word indistinct] self-management, which has become [word indistinct] and which has become the property of our working people, it has become our working people's way of life to make it easier for us, in fact enable us, to overcome all these problems -- more so than in other systems.

Consequently, we did not invent this, but I would say it is to the credit of Tito and Kardelj and of this party in general that this Marxist tenet was brought out of its theoretical and practical oblivion to serve the continuation of our revolution. This is also linked with the question of state and statehood. You know that when we oriented ourselves toward self-management -- not only as a theory but also in practice -- we placed at the center of attention the withering away of the functions of the state, thus bringing that classical Marxist tenet out of oblivion, not in order to strengthen the state, but to place it at the service of self-management, of the working class, in the sense of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make it more effective in achieving the historical interests of the class.

Because of these various difficulties, wavering and so forth, which we also have in the League of Communists, the question of statehood is often imposed in its negative sense, and not the question of self-management, and in that sense concerning our community. Consequently, I think that self-management has proved itself both in our country and in the world and not only in the case of the revolutionary movement. You see that now there is no serious party, not only social democratic and bourgeois, which does not recognize the importance today of two elements which we pioneered -- the question of self-management and the question of nonalignment. Apart from the way different people view self-management and nonalignment and so forth, I am talking about the idea. I do not think it is a question of our agitating in favor of this and defending it, because it does not have to be defended. Rather I think it is a question of our being more consistent. I even think that at times we adopt too defensive a posture with regard to slogans, agitation and so forth, and at some of our meetings. I think we should be more offensive and that we should then apply this in practice.

[Question] Nevertheless, the fact remains that economic difficulties and problems are most directly reflected in the development of social relations. It seems to us that regardless of the conclusion that Yugoslavs have accepted self-management as their way of life and work in everyday life, our society has entered a crucial stage at which the fundamental change of socio-economic relationships into a truly self-managing relationship cannot be postponed indefinitely. I think that the League of Communists must respond to this question, that it must go beyond stating that there will be no retreat from the self-management concept. Moreover, it seems to me that it must answer the question of what social mechanism will provide the means by which the balance of forces in our society can be definitely changed in favor of self-management, the question of the political activity of communists, activity today in the present social conditions.

[Answer] The question here is that of the ability of every member of the League of Communists and every organization to determine whether every one of his or its moves is consistent with self-management; whether, when he is solving practical, everyday problems, his actions are consistent with that practice and with the long-term approach -- whether it will be a brick by brick approach to the building of this, or whether it will be [word indistinct]. We can only say that since the introduction of self-management -- and also before if you take into account our revolution -- we have had a positive trend. However, we also have individual periods of oscillation, individual periods of stagnation.

I would say that one can speak about these oscillations, and even certain stagnations, not only in the defensive sense; that is, that we should more successfully resolve these economic developments. When I say economic, I also mean that the economy and productivity of labor are no longer a question only for people in direct production, but also of science and all those other service activities and other socially beneficial work, as is the question of rewarding people according to their work. These are the questions on the basis of which every organization should decide what it will daily do in this respect. In this way we shall be able to (?achieve) -- and that is a characteristic of a Marxist party and should be one -- first that it not be allowed to end up in a rut, that it should have a plan for the future; and secondly, that it not merely declare itself in favor of things and act merely as a discussion club, but in fact change society. Moreover, changing society in the conditions of such an international situation and in our own conditions [words indistinct] is not at all easy.

[Question] Comrade Dragosavac: We have come to the question of ideological trends in our society. We can, I think, agree and state that where the party is not first in the search for solutions, the forces opposed to the idea of self-management appear with their solutions. These forces have concepts which, I would say, are alien to our society, and they have been more vocal recently.

[Answer] I would say here: not only their thoughts but their programs. At the 10th and 11th congresses [words indistinct] for example, the (?standpoints) -- when we were speaking, we mentioned Tito and Kardelj, their reports, discussions, and so on. It was stressed at that time that we had arrived (?late) [words indistinct] and that we had, therefore, in society [words indistinct]. We have now stated quite rightly that if we did not have those people from outside [words indistinct] society and the remnants of the old society would have fewer possibilities for reproduction [words indistinct] come from outside. However, we see in the world -- we are an open country and shall continue to be, and we must take all this into account.

And so, we have class contrasts in our society too. This [words indistinct] from outside [words indistinct] operates as if it is more complicated and national [words indistinct] but not nationalist in the sense of romanticism, but rather racist, clerically intolerant and militant, and so on. And then -- and this, of course, follows on from this. They serve us up human rights, but we have never asserted that we -- and not one single country -- have attained perfection, because of the class nature of our society and the situation. We have never claimed that there are no irregularities regarding certain people. On the contrary, we have a mechanism for this, it must be implemented. There is no doubt that not all organizations [words indistinct] fight for [words indistinct] but we cannot accept it, for instance, when certain reactionary (?forces) exploit this -- bourgeois, and not only bourgeois [words indistinct] which violate human rights in the crudest manner. Here we must be primarily politically [words indistinct] (?on the) offensive.

We have not, however, raised this by chance. We have experience even here [words indistinct] and naturally, if we are more on the offensive politically, to put it that way, and more conscientious [passage indistinct]

I think [words indistinct] tendencies. In some of them I think they are finding expression. They now want to say -- and what you said is quite right; you could say it about other sectors, but as you have mentioned the question of the press, there are now individuals who adopt a professional attitude. They are often members of the party, and yet adopt attitudes as though they are not [word indistinct] carrying out the most important tasks.

This is, I think, an important question. We have, of course, resolved this with the Constitution; we have received [words indistinct] that this is an activity of particular interest -- special questions and advice in a certain way. After all, we have only party members in the editorial offices, and so on.

It is not a question of the League of Communists on the one hand and the press or publishing activity or culture or I don't know what on the other. Nor is it a question of the press and the league of socialist forces; nor is it a question of the press and the press and the revolution. Rather, it is a question of directing all this towards the revolution. We have placed (?communists in the system) everywhere to carry out their tasks. Insofar as they do this, they are in the center of the revolution, and vice versa.

There are also cases in which -- and this is [words indistinct] important whether someone is in the press or in the party leadership of Yugoslavia -- he objectively, I subjectively, would never do so if he wasn't [words indistinct] he objectively helps and can be the victim, for example, of pressure, both neo-Stalinist, and neocapitalist, and very often nationalist, too, and people who have no -- with nationalism and all that. The question here is the struggle we are conducting.

Here it often arises -- for instance, recently we have had it. Is it genuine or just to form [words indistinct]? We have never, I think, raised the issue of our programs in the party, and so on. This is beyond question [words indistinct]. The question here is -- another problem arises: How are we really to (?do this) in both a genuine and (?objective) manner? After all, as you yourself know, there is no [words indistinct] and we quite rightly think that our society is in some respects good, not to say the very best, and that it is among those which have done a lot and are doing a lot. But in this society there are various people who (?do nothing) [words indistinct] oversights. Take, for example -- well, you are connected with that. You can fill your daily programs and the whole of the press with various negative [word indistinct]. And on the other hand you can [words indistinct] the good ones, for there are many people who work well and run good collectives. You could make everything beautiful without any problem. Both of these could be truthful as individual cases [words indistinct] but it is not the real truth. The real problem is how to give both these individual cases some of the truth, be it negative or positive, for both of them must be active in the sense that as many working people as possible should be mobilized in the positive one and vice versa. The negative must be deplored as much as possible, so as not to make the negative [words indistinct] but the positive. [Passage indistinct] it is a great problem finding [words indistinct] of Hegel.

Secondly, the question here is one of [word indistinct] selection as not everything can get in. How to carry out this selection? This is naturally a question of timing, commentary [words indistinct]. This requires great effort. But even where people have done the very most, and it is relatively good, it is never so good that it could not be better.

This, then, is where I think work should be done. I think [words indistinct] journalists, especially as the party never (?laid down) that this should be done [words indistinct]. After all, the old rule exists. He who does not work does not (?eat). But this is on the other hand the most human of sins [words indistinct]. Not to work is the greatest mistake. In work if one makes a mistake, however, and these mistakes [word indistinct] and turn into a line, then a problem arises here. [Words indistinct] and the search for a way out of this. We do have cases, if not certain entire papers then in individual columns, when for a moment there is a danger of it becoming this second line [words indistinct] of self-management. We must be aware here because often when something gets through into the press, be it clerical or nationalist or something on these lines, then when someone on the outside (?gets hold of) this, then the comrades get really angry and say 99 percent is more or less good and [word indistinct]. What should one do now? Now you are making a problem out of that 1 percent.

However we, comrades, when it is a question of nationalism, racism, these are matters which we cannot stand for 1 percent, we cannot measure then in percentages. [sentence as heard] In this respect one has to be, so to say, energetically against it.

[Question] There is a series of specific features which characterize the development of our society and to which we are particularly sensitive. Some of them you mentioned a little while ago: self-management, multinational relations, and so forth, development of brotherhood and unity among our nations and nationalities. As a democratic society -- you have said it yourself -- we are open to the influence of various ideas, including those which are opposed to the idea and practice of self-management. However, where self-managing forces, and in particular the League of Communists, are not sufficiently careful and are not active enough, enemies of this society operate with their onslaughts. Perhaps the situation in Kosovo is the most glaring example.

[Answer] In this respect we have adopted the LCY platform. I think that in it we analyzed both the cause and the consequences and we determined, so to speak, the direction of action. And of course, the greatest burden in the nature of things is on the Kosovo leadership. We adhere to that saying of ours that everybody should settle accounts in his own environment, his own nation, his own nationality, and then it is in the nature of things that the greatest burden lies on the Albanians.

This is not only for communists, but for all working people, for all Albanians in our country. I would say that the majority of them are conscious of this and that they are already working on it. I think that the reaction at the time, the reaction which was not merely sharp -- because it is all right to be sharp towards irredenta -- but that the reaction was assuming certain elements also with regard to the Albanians in Kosovo, the Kosovo leadership as a whole [words indistinct] Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Albanians, and so forth. However, we also felt that this was the result of a kind of patriotism of the people, of interest for Yugoslavia, its integrity, its entirety. But, we always direct this in such a way that it does not exceed the borderline and that it firmly adheres to the borderline between nationalism -- and in this connection even of this worst kind of nationalism, that is irredentism -- and national feelings. With reference to Albanian nationalism, I think that Albanian nationalism as a whole too should be pointed out as something dangerous. Its escalation should be pointed out, so to speak, as a whole. In this connection, we are proceeding from our well-known Marxist principle that those who are in the majority in whatever territory or area where there is mixed population -- and this is the case in Kosovo where Albanians are in the majority -- should bear the great responsibility for brotherhood, unity and equality. Regardless of everything that happened, [word indistinct] our assessment in addition to these general causes which could have led to that, and our critical attitude above all the League of Communists and its leadership in Kosovo, the leadership which also by its subjective weaknesses and omissions made possible the penetration of nationalism in the ranks of the League of Communists, including in its leadership. I think that after everything which was done, after the changes in the leadership and recently at the conference, that we shall succeed in overcoming this problem. They will do so because they are both part of the League of Communists of Serbia and of the uniform LCY, together with all in the struggle for the development of our socialist society.

Now when we talk about overcoming this, because this has deep roots and because we have actually noted that for a long time there was a passive attitude, lack of activity of the League of Communists and of the leadership; it was due to the conscious activity by individuals and groups and this escalated and disrupted these relations. We must be conscious of the fact that whenever this comes about, escalates, threatens peace, it is relatively easier and relatively quicker to establish the fact that a longer period is, nevertheless, necessary to rehabilitate the situation completely and to regain full trust with regard to the development and consolidation of brotherhood, unity and togetherness. When I say this, I am stressing it in order that we might be conscious of the fact that there will still be problems, but that by patient work and our continuous and systematic activity -- above all of the forces there -- we must overcome them. When I say "patient" -- you must understand that this is a long-term problem and it does not mean postponement -- but it calls for day-by-day action both against the causes and against the consequences and against any kind of manifestation.

I think that we are successful in this. Of course, there are all kinds of attacks which are not good; there are and there have been both in the press, radio and television -- and what I have in mind is not only people.

We know that the press often carried other views and interpretations from various meetings, and in such a situation there are, of course, also emotional elements but we must, however, so to speak [word indistinct] not in order to blunt the edge, but precisely in order to be more successful in the struggle against [word indistinct]. The most important thing in this respect today is to create full security there. Nobody should leave Kosovo, be he a Serb, or especially a Montenegrin -- when we speak of them -- because of pressure. This I think must be, so to speak, [word indistinct] and secondly, parallel with that, we must direct -- not only to restore because it is evident that it had been fairly brittle and weak -- and consolidate brotherhood and unity and we must develop it and -- again I refer to what Tito often used to say -- to safeguard it as the apple of our eye. Because without it there is no life, no political life, not to mention, as a Marxist and humanist, that the question of equality, and so forth today is an elementary issue.

[Question] Comrade Dragosavac, now on the eve of the 12th LCY Congress we have thousands upon thousands of new people in the League of Communists leadership, from basic organizations right up to organs and forums of the LCY. In your view, were the princples of cadre policy realized to a sufficient degree in the recent elections in the LCY? I mean, were those who struggle for self-management elected? Was there a rejuvenation of the cadres, and so forth?

[Answer] Well, you see, I do not know if you mean this (?in light) of what you have previously told me. I think that this is a question both of the preparations for the congresses in the sense of the work so far done, and also of what is expected from our 12th congress. I have noticed that the public has often asked whether this is a congress of continuity or rejuvenation, and so forth. I would say in this connection -- we have already said something about this -- I think that we primarily note the fact that we are a young party, young in the sense that a large number of members, more than one-third -- I am not sure if this is quite accurate -- are under 27. Naturally, a large number of members are under 40, when our people are in -- how shall I put it -- are in their best working period, when people are both mature and possess -- how shall I put it -- energy for work. There are also the older generations. I think that it is a good thing that the party should unite all of the generations, that it let us say, should combine the experience of the old and naturally the enthusiasm and experience of the young. In this respect, I think that when we look at these conferences, meetings, committees and so forth, I think that this has become generally accepted -- naturally not always to the same extent and in places there is exaggeration in one direction or the other -- but I can say that what I said before is typical.

Connected with this is the question of the idea of collective work, initiative and so forth. I think that this is developing quite successfully. You also know that at one time there was a certain degree of exaggeration in this respect [words indistinct] I think that in this respect we have found -- how shall I put it -- the right degree both as regards the collective aspect and as regards the question of the interchangeability of people in specific offices. Of course there are certain differences here, but I do not think that they are decisive. However, we have to make a great effort to realize all of this, both the collective work and at the same time the responsibility of individuals in that connection. This is a major problem and we can say that when this moves to a higher level we will be able to say not that we have completely realized this, because it represents a process, but that in essence we have realized this initiative. It seems to me that in this connection we could say that this is a step in this direction. In connection with what I have been saying, there is the question of whether this will be a congress of continuation or renewal. I am not inclined to -- and I should not like to -- provide a definition or in particular to sum it up in one single term. I know that definitions are indispensable for science, but they never exhaust a subject even when they are at their best, and this particularly cannot be done by single terms, especially with reference to so complex a social phenomenon as our congress.

Consequently, what anyone calls the congress or how they define it -- these things are not essential to me and I do not think that we should be preoccupied with this. However, as far as I am concerned, I would completely reject this term "renewal," because I think that it has been taken over from a set of circumstances which are not representative of our situation. Therefore I would prefer to speak about the continuity of the revolution -- the question of the continuity of the revolution which is then the question of building socialism, of the political delegate system, of the association of labor and let me just mention in the international sphere cooperation on an equal footing, peaceful coexistence and the struggle for peace -- and I think that is what is essential. If we go further, I can mention, for example, our nonaligned foreign policy, playing a positive role in the international workers' movement, helping every liberation and revolutionary movement and always being on the side of those who struggle for progress and against anything that favors hegemony and so forth. It is in this sense that I view this continuity, and it goes without saying that in this period as well, since we have identified both the old and some new contradictions, primarily in our internal life, but also those that are due to the external situation, the congress should contribute to the resolution of [words indistinct] contradictions.

In this sense our congress has a place of its own in this continuity of the revolution and naturally has a place of its own in the same way as our previous congresses. This is the sense I see in this matter. One often hears the question indicating that when one speaks about continuity this means the continuity of everything that has existed so far. Then some people justifiably think about shortcomings while some -- though there are fewer of them, they are individuals -- think about the revolution because they would like, since this is the first congress after Tito [Dragosavac pauses] many of them think that at the congress we should change things not in the sense of struggling against what is negative -- which is undeniable and against which one should struggle -- such as the question of the bourgeois and Stalinist aspects and so forth, neocominformism and so forth, and these ideologies of the bourgeois class and so forth, but some think that we should stop the continuity of this and endorse either this neo-Stalinist aspect, or at least some elements of the bourgeois aspect. Naturally we do not want either one or the other. When we say continuity of the revolution, that means constant struggle against the counterrevolution and everything that is negative in society. Consequently, there is nothing negative about our continuity. Our continuity is that of positive development and of constant struggle against what is negative. And since what is negative in this period is manifesting itself somewhat more strongly because of all of the difficulties, then that means that the congress should help us struggle more resolutely against what is negative.

[Question] All of our congresses, all of the LCY congresses, have aroused special attention in the international workers movement and, I would say, in the world political public. I believe that the situation is the same with regard to the forth-coming 12th LCY Congress.

[Answer] Well, you see I would say in this connection, adding to what I said in reply to one of your previous questions, that Yugoslavia has great prestige in the world. People in the world, not only the communist, workers' and liberation groups, but also the world in general, are aware of the role of the League of Communists. This is not an accidental role and has even been institutionally established through our Constitution, and in view of its responsibility for society and the role of the League of Communists in the system, there is naturally a great degree of interest in our communism among people abroad. [sentence as heard]

This is also certain to be reflected in the delegations, many of which wish to come, and I think that in this respect, too, the congress will represent a confirmation of the continuity of the revolution [words indistinct] and I think that in this sense well-intentioned people, our friends in the world, expect the congress to yield positive results. Naturally, there are also ill-intentioned people who have different hopes, but I think that Yugoslav communists, Yugoslav working people will again be able to -- how shall I put it -- gladden their friends and sadden their enemies.

[Question] Comrade Dragosavac, on behalf of our listeners we should like to thank you for agreeing to discuss our society's topical questions before the 12th LCY Congress.

[Answer] Thank you too.

MONTENEGRO ASSEMBLY ELECTS VARIOUS OFFICIALS

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[Excerpts] Titograd, 7 May (TANJUG) -- The first sessions of all the chambers of the Montenegro Assembly were held today. After being constituted, at separate sessions, at which Radivoje Scekic, until now vice president of the Montenegro Executive Council, was elected president of the socio-political chamber; Veselin R. Djuranovic, until now president of the Republican Committee for Transport and Communications, Maritime Affairs and Road Industry, was elected president of the Chamber of Municipalities; and, Blazo Orlandic, delegate from Bar, president of the Cnamber of Associated Labor, a joint session of all the chambers was held at which Milutin Tanjevic, until now president of the Montenegro Assembly's Chamber of Municipalities, was unanimously elected president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. Djordjije Vukmanovic, delegate from Bar, was elected vice-president of the assembly.

At their joint session the delegates elected the commission for election and appointments. Momcilo Jovovic was elected chairman of the commission.

The following were elected members of the Montenegro presidency by secret vote: Ramiz Bambur (151 votes); Miodrag-Miso Vlahovic (154); Veselin Djuranovic (159); Drago Jovovic (153); Marko Orlandic (158); Miro Porovic (150); and Dr Ljubica Radovic (157). A total of 162 delegates voted.

President of the Central Committee of the Montenegrin League of Communists and president of the Republican Assembly are ex-officio members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

At its first session, the Presidency elected unanimously Veselin Djuranovic, until now president of the Federal Executive Council, as president of the Presidency with a 1-year mandate.

At their joint session, the delegates also elected members of the Executive Council, republican secretaries and presidents of the republican committees. The newly-elected members of the Executive Council are: Radivoje Brajovic, Nikola Djonaj, Radoje Kontic, Vladimir Sekulic, Dr Bozidar Tadic, Beludin Halibegovic and Mladen Skobalj. Radivoje Brajovic, until now president of the Montenegro Assembly, was elected president of the Executive Council.

At the joint session of the Assembly chambers members of delegation of the Montenegro Assembly in the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces were also elected. They are: Jovan Vujadinovic, Zarko Dragogic, Demus Djokovic, (?Dragoljub) Jakic, Milutin Jovicevic, Vjera Kovacevic, Abdul Kurpejovic, Ljubomir Markvoic. Vojo Srzentic, Milivoje Stijovic, Momcilo Cemovic and Milan Sanovic.

BRIEFS

KOSOVO STUDENT SENTECNED -- Prizren, 23 Apr -- The Prizren District Court sentenced Dervis Cardaku, 24, student of the Pristina Electrical Engineering Department, to 2 years and 10 months imprisonment for spreading hostile propaganda. In 1981 he lent out the hostile newspaper LIRIJA, which was published by the Crveni Front [red front] a hostile group. Dervis Cardaku had been sentenced to 2 and 1/2 years imprisonment for hostile activity in 1977. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 82 p 6 AU]